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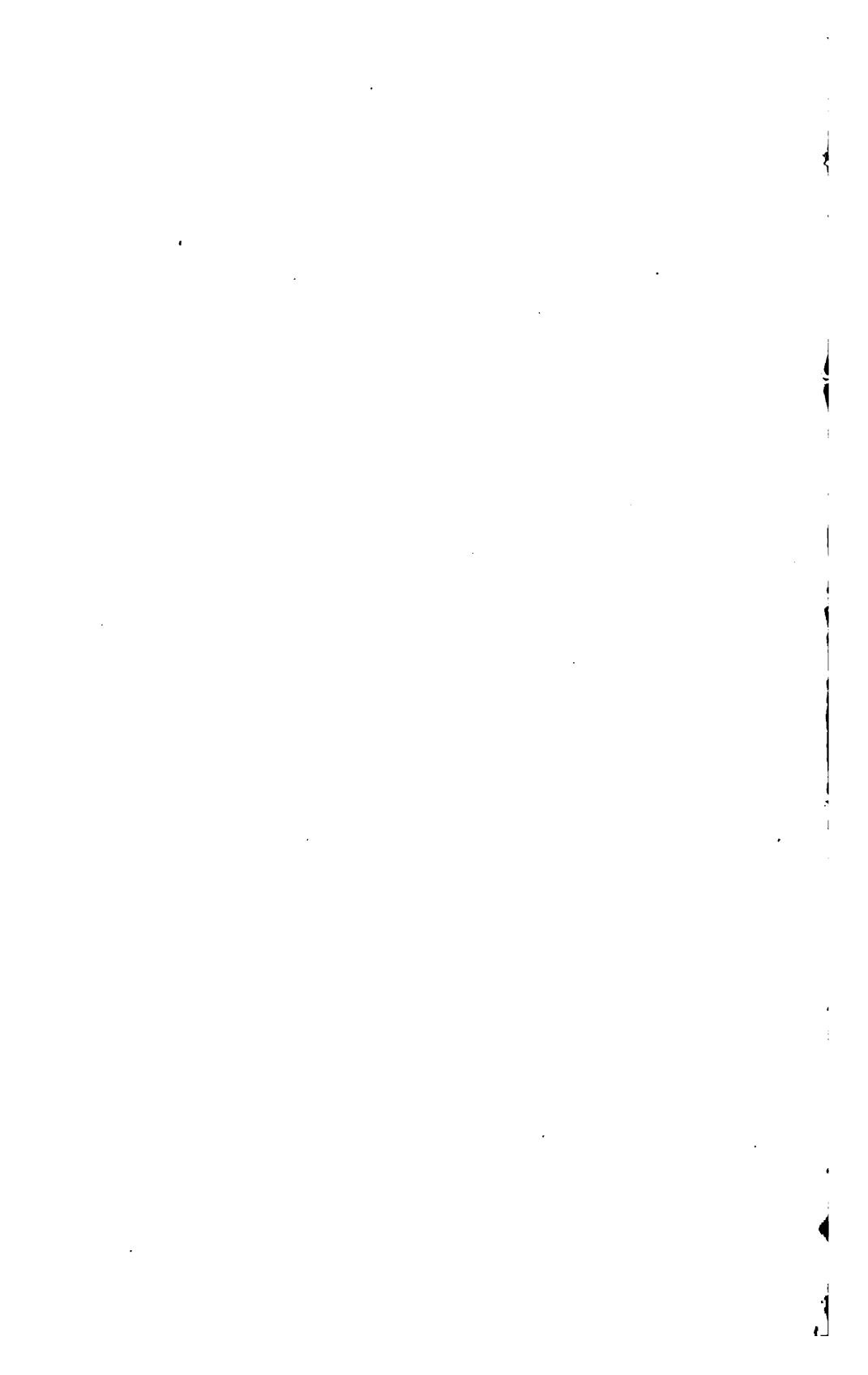
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE
DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND,

By OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B.

THE TWELFTH EDITION, CORRECTED;

WITH
A CONTINUATION
TO THE
DEATH OF GEORGE THE THIRD,

By CHARLES COOTE, LL. D.

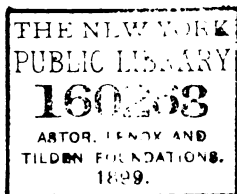
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; J. CUTHELL; J. NUNN; J. SCAT-
CHERD; J. AND A. ARCH; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN;
T. CADELL; J. BOOKER; J. RICHARDSON; J. M. RICHARDSON; BALDWIN,
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1823.



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C. Baldwin, Printer,
New Bridge-street, London.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE I.

A. D. 1714—1716.

THE two parties which had long divided the kingdom, under the names of Whig and Tory, now seemed to alter their titles; and, as the old epithets had lost their virulence by frequent use, the Whigs were now styled Hanoverians, and the Tories were branded with the appellation of Jacobites. The former boasted of a protestant king, the latter of an hereditary monarch; the former urged the wisdom of their new sovereign, and the latter alleged that theirs was an Englishman. It is easy to perceive, that the choice would rest upon him whose wisdom and religion promised the people the greatest security.

The Jacobites had long been flattered with the hopes of seeing the succession altered by the new ministry. Ungrounded hopes and impracticable schemes seem to have been the only portion bequeathed to that party. They now found all their expectations blasted by the premature death of the queen. The diligence and activity of the privy-council, in which the Hanoverian

interest prevailed, the general ridicule which attended their inconsistent conduct, all served to complete their confusion. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible in the present crisis as silence and submission; they hoped much from the assistance of France, and still more from the popularity and counsels of the Pretender. This unfortunate man seemed to possess all the qualities of his father; his pride, his want of perseverance, and his attachment to the catholic religion. He was but a poor leader, therefore, unfit to conduct so desperate a cause; and, in fact, all the sensible part of the kingdom had forsaken it as irretrievable.

Pursuant to the act of succession, George the First, son of Ernest-Augustus, first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter to James the First, ascended the British throne. His mature age, he being now fifty-four years old, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general tranquillity of Europe, all contributed to establish his interests, and to promise him a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid; he was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. These were known to a proverb for leaving their friends in extremity; George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, was heard to say, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." To these qualifications of resolution and perseverance, he joined great application to business. However, one fault with respect to England remained behind; he studied the interest of those subjects he had left more than of those he came to govern.

The queen had no sooner resigned her breath, than the privy-council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his

known adherents to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of state. Orders also were immediately issued for proclaiming George king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry the more, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage, among the servants, with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No tumult appeared; no commotion arose against the accession of the new king; and this gave a strong proof that no rational measures were ever taken to obstruct his exaltation.

The king first landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing place, he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility and other persons of distinction, who expected to make their court in this reign, in consequence of their turbulence and opposition in the last. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. But the duke of Ormond, the lord-chancellor, and the lord-treasurer, found themselves excluded. The earl of Oxford, the next morning, presented himself with an air of confidence, supposing that his rupture with Bolingbroke would compensate for his former conduct. But he had the mortification to remain a considerable time unnoticed among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any cir-

cumstance of peculiar respect. To mortify him still more, the king expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough (who had just come from the continent), as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

The king of a faction is but the sovereign of half his subjects. Of this, however, the new-elected monarch did not seem sensible. It was his misfortune, and consequently of the nation, that he was hemmed round by men who soured him with all their own interests and prejudices. Only the zealots of a party were now admitted into employment. The Whigs, while they pretended to secure the crown for their king, were with all possible arts confirming their own interests, extending their connexions, and giving laws to their sovereign. An instantaneous and total change was made in all the offices of trust, honour, or advantage. The Whigs governed the senate and the court; whom they would, they oppressed; bound the lower orders of people with severe laws, and kept them at a distance by vile distinctions; and then taught them to call this—liberty.

These partialities soon raised great discontent among the people; and the king's attachment considerably increased the number of mal-contents. The clamour of the supposed danger of the church was revived; and the people only seemed to want a leader to excite them to insurrection. Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, and Reading, still remembered the spirit with which they had declared for Sacheverel: and now the cry was, "Down with the Whigs, and Sacheverel for ever!" During these commotions, which were fomented by every art, the Pretender himself continued a calm spectator on the continent. Then was the time for him to have struck his greatest blow; but he only sent over his emissaries to disperse his ineffectual manifestoes, and delude the unwary. In these papers he observed, that the late

known adherents to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of state. Orders also were immediately issued for proclaiming George king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry the more, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage, among the servants, with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No tumult appeared; no commotion arose against the accession of the new king; and this gave a strong proof that no rational measures were ever taken to obstruct his exaltation.

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plaints: they pointed out to the ministry several tracts written in favour of Socinianism and Arianism. The court not only refused to punish the delinquents, but silenced the clergy themselves, and forbade their future disputations on such topics. This injunction answered the immediate purpose of the ministry; it put a stop to the clamours of the populace, fomented by the clergy: but it produced a worse disorder in its train; it produced a negligence in all religious concerns. Nothing can be more impolitic in a state than to hinder the clergy from disputing with each other; they thus become more animated in the cause of religion, and, which side soever they defend, they become wiser and better as they carry on the dispute. To silence argument in the clergy, is to encourage them in sloth and neglect; if religion be not kept awake by opposition, it sinks into silence, and no longer continues an object of public concern.

The parliament being dissolved, another was called A. D. by a very extraordinary proclamation. In this 1715. the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession, and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He expressed hopes that his subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; he entreated that they would elect such in particular as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It was thus that this monarch was tutored, by the faction around him, to look with an evil eye on subjects that never opposed the succession—subjects that detested a popish monarch, and whose only fault was a desire of being governed rather by the authority of a king than a junto of their fellow-subjects who assumed his power. In the election of this important parliament, uncommon vigour was

exerted on both sides; but, by dint of the moneyed interest that prevailed in corporations, and the activity of the ministry, which will always have weight, a great majority of Whigs were returned both in England and Scotland.

Upon the first meeting of this new parliament, in which the Whigs, with the king at their head (for he took no care to conceal his partialities,) were predominant, nothing was expected but the most violent measures against the late ministry; nor were the expectations of mankind disappointed. The king gave the house of commons to understand that the branches of the revenue, appointed for the support of the civil government, were not sufficient for that purpose. He warned them that the Pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England to repair his former disappointments. He intimated also, that he expected their assistance in punishing such as endeavoured to deprive him of the blessing which he most valued, the affection of his people. As the houses were predisposed to violent measures, this served to give them the alarm; and they outwent even the most sanguine expectations of the most vindictive ministry.

The lords, in return to the speech, professed their hopes that the king would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom on the continent, the loss of which they affected to deplore. The commons went much farther: they declared their resolution to trace out those measures by which the country was depressed; they resolved to seek after those abettors on whom the Pretender seemed to ground his hopes, and they determined to bring such to condign punishment. Mr. Secretary Stanhope openly asserted, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used by the late ministry to prevent a discovery of their hidden transactions,

by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet there was still sufficient evidence left to prove their corruptions and treasons. He added, that these proofs would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear that the duke of Ormond had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, the French general.

The house seemed very well inclined to enter into any impeachment; and there was no restraint to the violence of their measures but the voice of a multitude without doors, intimidated by the resolution of the present rulers. It was the artifice, during this and the succeeding reign, to stigmatise all those who testified their discontent against the government, as Papists and Jacobites. All who ventured to speak against the violence of their measures were reproached as designing to bring in the Pretender; and most people were consequently afraid to murmur, since discontent was so nearly allied to treason. The people, therefore, beheld the violence of their conduct in silent fright, internally disapproving, yet not daring to avow their detestation.

In this ferment, the former ministry could expect neither justice nor mercy. A party of them kept away from business; Bolingbroke had hitherto appeared, and spoke in the house as usual. However, his fears now prevailed over his desire to vindicate his character: finding an impeachment was likely to be made, he withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter, in which he declared, that if there had been any hopes of a fair and open trial, he would not have declined it; but being already prejudged in the minds of the majority, he thought fit, by flight, to consult their honour and his own safety.

A committee was soon after appointed, consisting of

twenty persons, to inspect all the papers relative to the late negotiation for peace, and to pick out such of them as might serve for subjects of accusation against the late ministry. After some time spent in this disquisition, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the committee, declared to the house that a report was drawn up; and, in the mean time, moved that a warrant might be issued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report of the committee, in which a number of charges were exhibited against the queen's ministers. The clandestine negotiation with Mr. Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British minister; the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace; these and some other charges were recited against them, and then Walpole impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treason. This struck some of the members with amazement, as there was nothing in the report that amounted to treason; but they were still more astonished, when lord Coningsby, rising up, was heard to say, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors."

When the earl appeared in the house of lords the day following, he was avoided by the peers as infectious; and he had now an opportunity of discovering the baseness of mankind. When the articles were read against him in the house of commons, a warm debate arose upon that in which he was charged with having advised the French king of the manner of gaining Tournay from

the Dutch. Mr. Walpole alleged that it was treason. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a known Whig, said that he could never be of opinion that it amounted to treason. It was his principle, he said, to do justice to all men, to the highest and the lowest. He hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws, and would not scruple to declare upon this part of the question in favour of the criminal. To this Walpole answered, with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and exceeded him in the knowledge of the laws, and yet were satisfied that the charge in that article amounted to high treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached him at the bar of the house of lords, requiring, at the same time, that he might lose his seat, and be committed to custody. When this point came to be debated in that house, a violent altercation ensued. Those who still adhered to the deposed minister maintained the injustice and the danger of such a proceeding. At last the earl himself rose up, and with great tranquillity, spoke to the following purport. After observing that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation for, and the conclusion of, the peace, "I am accused," says he, "for having made a peace; a peace which, bad as it is now represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen my mistress, and never offended against any known law. I am justified in my own conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest ingratitude, remain unconcerned for the best of queens; obligation binds me to vindicate her memory."

My lords, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the case of all the members of this august assembly. I doubt not, therefore, that, out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that in the prosecution of this inquiry, it will appear that I have merited not only the indulgence, but the favour, of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. And when I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue, of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done!"

On his return from the house of lords to his own house, where he was for that night permitted to go, he was followed by a great multitude of people crying out, "High church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his impeachment, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though doctor Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger, the majority voted for his commitment. The ferment in the house still continued; and the earl of Anglesey declared that such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This increased the tumult; and though much greater liberties have been since taken by that party against their sovereign, yet Anglesey was then obliged to apologise for this expression. Oxford was attended in his way to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who vented their anger at his commitment in imprecations upon his prosecutors.

The violence of the commons was answered with equal violence without doors. Tumults became every day more frequent, and every tumult only served to increase the severity of the legislature. They now passed an act, declaring, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour, after being required to disperse by a justice of peace, or other officer, and after hearing the act against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. This is a very severe act, and one of the greatest restrictions on the liberty of the subject that passed during this century. By this, all meetings of the people, either for the purposes of amusement or redress, are rendered criminal, if it shall please any magistrate to consider them as such. It is indeed very remarkable, that all the severe and most restrictive laws were enacted by that party who were continually stunning mankind with a cry of freedom.

At the time appointed, Oxford's answer to the charges exhibited against him was delivered into the house of lords; whence it was transmitted to the house of commons. Walpole, having heard it read, declared that it contained little more than a repetition of the pamphlets in vindication of the late ministry, and that it maliciously laid upon the queen the blame of all the pernicious measures into which he had led her. He alleged that it was also a libel on the proceedings of the house, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. In consequence of this, a committee was appointed to manage his impeachment, and to prepare evidence against him. By this committee it was reported that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of

Ormond and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within a limited time, it was ordered that the earl-marechal should erase out their names and arms from the list of peers ; and inventories were taken of their estates and possessions, which were declared forfeited to the crown. In this manner an indiscriminate vengeance seemed to pursue the persons who composed the late ministry, and who concluded a more beneficial treaty of peace than England ever obtained either before or since.

In consequence of these proceedings, lord Oxford was confined in the Tower, where he continued for two years, during which time the nation was in a continual ferment from an actual rebellion that was carried on unsuccessfully. After the execution of some lords, who were taken in arms, the nation seemed glutted with blood, and that was the time when the earl petitioned to be brought to his trial. He knew that the fury of the nation was spent on objects that were really culpable, and expected that his case would look like innocence itself, when compared to theirs. A day at his own request was assigned him, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time, the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as high-steward. The king, and the rest of the royal family, with the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity. The earl was conducted from the Tower ; the articles of his impeachment were read, with his answers, and the reply of the commons. As sir Joseph Jekyl stood up to make good the first article of the charge, which amounted only to a misdemeanor, lord Harcourt represented to the lords, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to go through the whole of the charges alleged against the earl ; that if those only were proved, in which he

was impeached of high-treason, the earl would then forfeit his life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. He was therefore of opinion, that the commons should not be admitted to proceed upon the more unimportant part of the accusation, until judgment should be first obtained upon the articles for high-treason. In this the lords agreeing, the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer either for treason or a misdemeanor, or to mix the accusation as they thought proper. The lords asserted that it was a right inherent in every court of justice to direct the methods of proceeding in that court. The commons demanded a conference; but this was refused. The dispute grew warm; the lords informed the lower house by message, that they would proceed to the trial; the commons disregarded the information, and refused to attend. Soon after, the lords repairing to Westminster-hall, and commanding the earl to be brought forth, his accusers were ordered to appear. As the commons were resolute, and did not attend, it was voted that the prisoner should be set at liberty. To this dispute he probably owed the security of his title and fortune; for, as to the articles importing him guilty of high-treason, they were at once malignant and frivolous; so that his life was in no manner of danger.

The duke of Ormond, as has been mentioned, was accused in the same manner; and it is thought that his correspondence with the Pretender was better ascertained than his accusers at first thought proper to declare. However, Mr. Hucheson, one of the commissioners of trade, boldly spoke in his defence. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; he enumerated the services he had performed to the crown; he asserted that the duke had only obeyed the queen's

commands; and affirmed that all the allegations against him could not, in the rigour of law, be construed into high-treason. His flight was a sufficient answer to the arguments. As he had refused to defend his innocence, his opposers were resolved to condemn him as guilty. The night he took leave of England, it is said, he paid a visit to lord Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying with as much earnestness as the duke entreated the earl to fly. He bade his friend the last adieu, with these words, "Farewell, Oxford, without a head." To which the other replied, "Farewell, duke, without a duchy." He afterwards continued to reside chiefly in Spain, an illustrious exile, and fruitlessly attached to a master unworthy of his services.

The commons were not less determined against the earl of Strafford, against whom articles of impeachment were voted. However, he was afterwards included with others in an act of indemnity, and found safety among the number that were driven into guilt, and then thought worthy of pardon.

In the mean time, these vindictive proceedings excited the indignation of the people, who perceived that the avenues to royal favour were closed against all but a faction. The flames of rebellion were actually kindled in Scotland, where, to their other grievances, the insurgents joined that of the union, which they were taught to consider as an oppression. The mal-contents of that country had all along maintained a correspondence with their friends in England, who were now driven by resentment and apprehension into a system of politics of which they would not otherwise have dreamed. Some of the Tory party, who were attached to the protestant religion, of moderate principles in government, began to associate with the Jacobites, and to wish in earnest for a revolution. Scotland first showed them an example.

The earl of Mar assembled three hundred of his own vassals on the Highlands, proclaimed the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at a place called Brae-mar, assuming the title of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces. To second these attempts, two vessels arrived in Scotland from France, with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, together with assurances to the earl, that the Pretender himself would shortly come over to head his own forces. The earl, in consequence of this promise, soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men, well armed and provided. He secured the pass of Tay at Perth, where his head quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the frith of Edinburgh. He marched from thence to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge; but there he was informed of the preparations the duke of Argyle was making, who was raising forces to give him battle.

This nobleman, whose family had suffered so much under the Stuart line, was still possessed of his hereditary hatred; and upon this occasion he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of North Britain. The earl of Sutherland also went down to Scotland to raise forces for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers followed the example. The earl of Mar, being informed that the duke was advancing against him from Stirling, with the discontented clans, assisted by some troops from Ireland, at first thought it most prudent to retreat. But being soon after joined by some of the clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, an experienced officer, who had signalised himself in the Russian service, he resolved to face the enemy, and directed his march towards the South.

The duke of Argyle, apprised of his intentions, and at any rate willing to prove his attachment to the present government, resolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine, though his forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy. In the morning he drew up his army, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, in order of battle; but he soon found himself greatly outflanked by the enemy. The duke, perceiving the earl making attempts to surround him, was obliged to alter his disposition, which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not done so expeditiously as to be finished before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army received the centre of the enemy, and supported the first charge without shrinking. It seemed even for a while victorious, as the earl of Clanronald, who commanded against it, was killed on the spot. But Glengary, who was second in command, undertook to inspire his intimidated forces; and, waving his bonnet, cried out several times, "Revenge!" This animated the rebel troops to such a degree, that they followed him close to the points of the enemy's bayonets, and got within their guard. A total rout began to ensue of that wing of the royal army; and general Whetham, their commander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out that all was lost, and that the rebels were completely victorious. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. Having thus entirely broken that wing, and driven them over the river Allan, he returned to the field of battle, where, to his great mortification, he found the enemy victorious, and patiently waiting the assault. However,

instead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to begin the attack. At evening, both sides drew off, and both claimed the victory. Though the possession of the field was kept by neither, yet certainly all the honour, and all the advantages of the day belonged to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the progress of the enemy; for, in their circumstances, delay was defeat. In fact, the earl of Mar soon found his disappointments and his losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the Pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine forsook the earl, in order to defend his own part of the country; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned quietly home; for an irregular army is much more easily led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

In the mean time, the rebellion was still more unsuccessfully prosecuted in England. From the time the Pretender had undertaken this wild project at Paris, in which the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke were engaged, lord Stair, the British Ambassador in France, had penetrated all his designs, and sent faithful accounts of all his measures, and all his adherents, to the ministry at home. Upon the first rumour, therefore, of an insurrection, they imprisoned several lords and gentlemen, of whom they had a suspicion. The earls of Home, Wintoun, and Kinnoul, and others, were committed to the castle of Edinburgh. The king obtained leave from the lower house to seize sir William Wyndham, sir John Packington, Kynaston, Hervey, and others. The lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into cus-

today. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; but his surety was refused.

But all these precautions were not able to stop the insurrection in the western counties, where it was already begun. However, all their preparations were weak and ill conducted; every measure was betrayed to government as soon as projected, and many revolts repressed in the very onset. The university of Oxford was treated with great severity on this occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would instantly shoot any of the students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. The insurrection of the northern counties came to greater maturity. In October, the earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Foster, took the field with a body of horse, and, being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender. Their first attempt was to seize Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut against them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham. To oppose these, general Carpenter was detached by government with a body of nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two methods by which they might have conducted themselves with prudence. The one was, to march directly into the western parts of Scotland, and there join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders. The other was, to cross the Tweed, and boldly attack general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed their own. The infatuation attendant on that party, prevented the adoption of either of these measures. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they hoped to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border.

This was the effectual means to cut themselves off either from retreat or assistance. A party of Highlanders, who had joined them by this time, at first refused to accompany them in this desperate irruption, and one half of them actually returned to their own country. At Brampton, Mr. Foster opened his commission of general, which had been sent him from the earl of Mar, and there he proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the body of the militia, assembled to oppose them, fled at their appearance. From Penrith they proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, to Preston, of which place they took possession, without any resistance. But this was the last stage of their ill-advised incursion; for general Wills, at the head of seven thousand men, came up to the town to attack them: and from his activity there was no escaping. They now therefore began to raise barricades, and to put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing the first attack of the royal army with success. Next day, however, Wills was reinforced by Carpenter, and the town was invested on all sides. In this deplorable situation, to which they were reduced by their own rashness, Foster hoped to capitulate with the general, and accordingly sent colonel Oxburgh, who had been taken prisoner, with a trumpeter, to propose a capitulation. This, however, Wills refused, alleging that he would not treat with rebels, and that the only favour they had to expect was, to be spared from immediate slaughter. These were hard terms; but no better could be obtained. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard; all the noblemen and leaders were secured, and a few of their officers tried for deserting from the royal army, and shot by order of a court-martial. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen

and considerable officers were sent to London and led through the streets, pinioned and bound together, to intimidate their party.

Such was the success of two expeditions set on foot in favour of the Pretender, in neither of which appear the smallest traces of conduct or design. But the conduct of his party on this side of the water was wisdom itself, compared to that with which it was managed at Paris. Bolingbroke there had been made his secretary, and Ormond his prime-minister. But these statesmen quickly found that nothing could be done in favour of his cause. The king of France, who had ever espoused the interest of the abdicated family, was just dead; and the duke of Orléans, who succeeded in the government of the kingdom, was averse to lending the Pretender any assistance. His party, however, which was composed of the lowest and the most ignorant exiles from the British dominions, affected the utmost confidence, and boasted of a certainty of success. The deepest secrets of his cabinet, and all his intended measures, were bandied about in coffee-houses by persons of the lowest rank, both in fortune and abilities. Subaltern officers resolved to be his generals; and even prostitutes were intrusted to manage his negotiations. Little, therefore, could be expected from such assistance and such counsels.

He might by this time have been convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in supposing that the whole country would rise up in his cause. His affairs were actually desperate; yet, with his usual infatuation, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was too late for success. Passing, therefore, through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, after a voyage of a few days, on the coast of Scotland,

with only six gentlemen in his train. He passed unknown through Aberdeen to Feterosse, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. There he was solemnly proclaimed. His declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and dispersed. He thence went to Dundee, where he made a public entry; and in two days more he arrived at Scone, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings to be A.D. made for his safe arrival; he enjoined the ministers to pray for him in their churches; and, without the smallest share of power, went through the ceremonies of royalty, which threw an air of ridicule on all his conduct. Having thus spent some time in unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the enterprise with the same levity with which it was undertaken. Having made a speech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition for undertaking a campaign, and therefore lamented that he was compelled to leave them. He embarked in a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in five days arrived at Gravelines.

General Gordon, who was left commander-in-chief of the forces, proceeded at their head to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, which took on board such persons as intended to make their escape to the continent. He then continued his march through the Highlands, and quietly dismissed his forces as he went forward. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake his rear, which consisted of a thousand horse.

In this manner ended a rebellion, which nothing but imbecility could project, and nothing but rashness sup-

port. But, though the enemy was now no more, the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with success. The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom the ministry seemed resolved not to pardon. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared that they would prosecute in the most rigorous manner the authors of the late rebellion; and their resolutions were as speedy as their measures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairne, were impeached, and, upon pleading guilty, all but lord Wintoun, received sentence of death. No entreaties could soften the ministry to spare these unhappy men. The house of lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect; the king only answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he would act as he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of his people.

Orders were accordingly dispatched for executing the lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited. Nithsdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in woman's clothes, which were brought him by his mother the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill at the time appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calm intrepidity, pitied by all, and seemingly less moved themselves than those who beheld them. Derwentwater was particularly regretted, as he was generous, hospitable, and humane. His fortune being large, he gave bread to multitudes of the poor, by whom he was considered as a parent and a protector.

To second these vindictive efforts, an act of parliament was made for trying the private prisoners in

London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms. This proceeding was considered, by the best lawyers, as an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed that every prisoner should be tried in the place where the offence was committed. In the beginning of April, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills were found against Mr. Foster, Mr. Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates.

Foster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty. Pitt, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Foster's escape, was tried for his life, but acquitted. Notwithstanding this, Mackintosh and several other prisoners broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Among these, William Paul, a clergyman, attracted peculiar pity; he professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned their king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical privileges. How strong soever the taint of faction may be in any man's bosom, if he has any goodness in him, he cannot help feeling the strongest pity for those brave men, who are willing, however erroneously, to sacrifice their lives to their principles. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number guilty of high treason. Two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; about a thousand prisoners experienced the king's mercy, if such it might be called, to be transported to North America.

Such was the end of a rebellion probably at first hastened forward by the rigour of the new Whig ministry

and parliament. In running through the revolutions of human transactions, it is a melancholy consideration that, in all contentions, we generally find little to applaud on either side. We here see a weak and imprudent party, endeavouring not only to subvert the government, but the religion, of their country. We see a pretended monarch, bred a papist himself, and confiding in popish counsellors, professing a desire to govern and protect the protestant religion. We observe most of his adherents, men of desperate fortunes, indifferent morals, or narrow principles, urging on a cause which nothing but repeated slaughter could establish. On the other hand, we see them opposed by a party actuated by pride, avarice, and animosity, concealing a love of power under a mask of freedom, and brandishing the sword of justice, to strike a vindictive blow. Clemency in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguished all that factious spirit which has since continued to disturb public tranquillity; for they must be a wretched people indeed, who are more easily driven than led into obedience to authority.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE I. (Continued.)

A. D. 1716—1727.

A CONSTITUTION so complicated as that of England must necessarily suffer alterations from time; for some of its branches may gain strength, while others become weaker. At this period, the orders placed between the king and the people acquired more than their share of power. The king himself being a foreigner, and ignorant

of the laws and constitution of the country, was kept under the control of his ministers, who, by their private connexions, governed the parliament. At the same time, the people, awed by the fears of imputed Jacobitism, were afraid to murmur, and were content to give up their freedom for safety. The rebellion now extinguished, only served to confirm the arrogance of those in power. The parliament had shown itself eager to second the views of the ministry; and the pretended danger of the state was made a pretext for continuing the parliament beyond the term fixed for its dissolution. An act, therefore, was made by their own authority, repealing that by which they were to be dissolved every third year, and extending the term to seven years. This attempt, in any delegated body of people, to increase their own power by extending it, is contrary to the first principles of justice. If it was right to extend their duration to seven years, they might also perpetuate their authority, and thus cut off even the shadow of nomination. This bill, however, passed both houses, and all objections to it were considered as marks of disaffection. The people might murmur at this encroachment, but it was too late for redress.

Domestic concerns being adjusted, the king began to turn his thoughts to his Hanoverian dominions, and resolved upon a voyage to the continent. He foresaw a storm gathering from Sweden. As Charles the Twelfth, the extraordinary monarch of that country, was highly provoked against him for having entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes in his absence, and for having purchased the towns of Bremen and Verden from the king of Denmark, which constituted a part of his dominions, George, having passed through Holland to Hanover, in order to secure his German dominions, entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the gent

of France, by which they agreed to assist each other in case of an invasion.

Nor were his fears from Sweden without foundation: Charles maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain; and a scheme was formed for landing a considerable body of Swedes, with the king at their head, in some part of the island, where it was expected they would be joined by all the malcontents of the kingdom. Count Gyllenburg, the Swedish minister in London, was peculiarly active in the A.D. conspiracy; but being seized with all his papers, 1717. by order of the king, the confederacy was broken for this time. However, a bill was passed by the commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, the trade with which country was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. A supply, to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was granted to the king, to enable him to secure his dominions against the threatened invasion. These were the first fruits of England's being wedded to the continent; however, the death of the Swedish monarch, who soon after was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway, put an end to all inquietude from that quarter.

But this was the age of treaties, subsidies, and political combinations. At that time, the politicians of the age supposed that such paper-chains would be sufficient to secure the permanence of dominion; but experience has sufficiently taught the contrary. Among other treaties concluded with such hopes, was that called the Quadruple Alliance. It was agreed upon be- A.D. tween the emperor, France, England, and Hol- 1718. land, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; that the successions to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be

settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. However, this treaty was by no means agreeable to the king of Spain, and consequently it became prejudicial to the English, as it interrupted the commerce to that kingdom. But the interest of England was not the object which this treaty was intended to secure.

The displeasure of the king of Spain soon broke out into an open war against the emperor, whom he considered as the chief contriver of this alliance; and a numerous body of Spanish troops were sent into Italy, to support Philip's pretensions in that quarter. It was in vain that the regent of France attempted to dissuade him, in vain the king of England offered his mediation; their interposition was rejected as partial and unjust. War, in the present exhausted state of the English finances, was a real evil; but a rupture with Spain was resolved on, in order to support a very distant interest. Twenty-two ships, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, were equipped with all expedition, and ordered to sail for Naples, which was then threatened by the Spanish army. He was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of that city, and was informed that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand men, had actually landed in Sicily. In this exigence, as no assistance could be given by land, he resolved to sail thither, fully determined to pursue the fleet in which they had embarked. Upon coming round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and following them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which, before noon, he discovered in line of battle, amounting in all to twenty-seven sail. However, the Spanish fleet, upon perceiving the force of the English, attempted to sail away, though superior in number. The English had for some time acquired such expertness in

naval affairs, that no other nation would attempt to face them, but with manifest advantage. The Spaniards seemed distracted in their counsels, and acted with extreme confusion. They made a running fight, and the commanders behaved with courage and activity ; in spite of which they were all taken except six, which were preserved by the conduct of Cammock, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. Sir George Byng behaved on this occasion with equal prudence and resolution ; and the king wrote him a letter, with his own hand, approving his conduct. This victory necessarily produced the resentment and complaints of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe, and hastened the declaration of war upon the part of the English, which had been hitherto delayed.

This rupture with Spain served once more to raise the declining expectations of the Pretender and his adherents. It was hoped that, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The duke of Ormond was the person fixed upon to conduct this expedition ; and he obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand soldiers, with arms for twelve thousand more. But fortune was still as unfavourable as ever. Having set sail, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he was encountered by a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and frustrated the expedition. This misfortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily, and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to wish for peace ; and he at last consented to sign the quadruple alliance. This was at that time thought an immense acquisition ; but England, though she procured the ratification, had no share in the advantage of the treaty.

The king, having thus restored peace to Europe, re-

turned from the continent to receive the addresses and congratulations of his parliament. From addressing, they proceeded to an object of much greater importance; this was the securing the dependency of the Irish parliament on that of Great Britain. One Maurice Annesly had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree made by the house of peers in Ireland, and this decree was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesly in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree of the lords in that kingdom. The barons of the exchequer obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and, at the same time, ordered the barons to be taken under the custody of the black-rod. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity, and addressed the king to signify his approbation of their conduct by some marks of his favour. To complete their intention, a bill was prepared, by which in 1720. the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to final jurisdiction. This bill was opposed in both houses; but particularly in that of the commons. It was there asserted by Mr. Pitt, that it would only increase the power of the English peers, who already were too formidable. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated that the Irish lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. Notwithstanding all opposition, the bill was carried by a great majority, and soon after received the royal assent. The people of Ireland were not at that time so well acquainted with their rights and just privileges as they are at present. Their lords then were mostly made up of men bred in luxury and ignorance; neither spirited enough to make opposition, nor

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skilful enough to conduct it. It is very extraordinary that this bill, which was a real grievance, produced no commotions in Ireland; and that the coinage of half-pence by one Wood, in England, for the people of that country, which was no grievance, was attended with very great disturbances. The reason must be, that the latter opposition was conducted by dean Swift, a man of genius, and the former imposition submitted to by men of weak abilities.

But this blow, which was felt severely by the Irish, was by no means so great as that felt by the English at this time, from the spirit of scheming avarice, which had infected all ranks of people. It was but in the preceding year that John Law, a Scotchman, had erected a company under the name of the Mississippi, which promised the people great wealth, but ended in involving the French nation in great distress. It was now that the people of England were deceived by a project entirely similar, which is remembered by the name of the South-sea Scheme, and was felt long after by thousands. To explain this as concisely as possible, it is to be observed, that ever since the revolution under king William, the government not having sufficient supplies granted by parliament, or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from different companies of merchants; and, among the rest, from that company which traded to the South-sea. In the year 1716, the government was indebted to this company about nine millions and a half of money, for which they granted interest at the rate of six per cent. As this company was not the only one to which the government was indebted, and paid such large yearly interest, sir Robert Walpole conceived a design of lessening these national debts, by giving the several companies an alternative either of accepting lower interest, namely,

five per cent., or of having the principal paid. The different companies chose rather to accept the diminished interest, than to receive the principal. The South-sea company, in particular, having made up their debt to the government ten millions, instead of six hundred thousand pounds, which they usually received as interest, were satisfied with five hundred thousand. In the same manner, the governor and company of the Bank, and other companies, were contented to receive a diminished annual interest for their respective loans; all which greatly lessened the debts of the nation.

It was in this situation of things that one Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry, in the name of the South-sea company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms he offered to government were extremely advantageous. The South-sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to the government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed by government, for six years, five per cent,—then the interest should be reduced to four per cent. and should at any time be redeemable by parliament. Thus far all was fair, and all was reasonable. For these purposes a bill passed both houses; but now came the part of the scheme big with fraud and ruin. As the directors of the South-sea company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading to the South-seas, from which commerce im-

mense advantages were promised, and still greater expected by the rapacious credulity of the people. All people, therefore, who were creditors to government, were invited to come in, and exchange their securities, namely, the government for the South-sea company. Many were the advantages they were taught to expect from having their money traded with in a commerce to and from the southern parts of America, where it was reported that the English were to have a new settlement granted them by the king of Spain.

The directors' books were no sooner opened for the first subscription, than crowds came to make the exchange of government stock for South-sea stock. The delusion was artfully continued, and spread. Subscriptions in a few days sold for double the price they had been bought at. The scheme succeeded beyond even the projector's hopes; and the whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprise. The infatuation prevailed; the stock increased to a surprising degree, and to near ten times the value of what it was at first subscribed for.

After a few months, however, the people awoke from their dream of riches, and found that all the advantages they expected were merely imaginary, while thousands of families were involved in one common ruin. Many of the directors, by whose arts the people were taught to expect such great benefits from a traffic to the South-seas, had amassed considerable fortunes by the credulity of the public. It was one consolation to the people, to find the parliament sharing the general indignation, and resolving to strip those plunderers of their unjust possessions. Orders were first given to remove all the directors of the South-sea company from their seats in parliament, and the places they possessed under government.

The principal delinquents were punished by a for-
A. D. feiture of all such possessions and estates as they
1721. had acquired during the continuance of this popular phrensy. The next care was, to redress the sufferers. Several useful and just resolutions were taken by parliament; and a bill was prepared for repairing the late sufferings, as far as the inspection of the legislature could extend. Of the profits arising from the South-sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was given back to the original proprietors; several additions were also made to their dividends, out of what was possessed by the company in their own right; and the remaining capital stock was also divided among the old proprietors, at the rate of thirty-three pounds per cent.

In the mean time, petitions from all parts of the kingdom were presented to the house, demanding justice, and the whole nation seemed exasperated to the highest degree. Public credit sustained a terrible shock. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions. The Bank was drawn upon faster than it could supply, and nothing was heard but the ravings of disappointment and despair.

The discontents occasioned by these public calamities once more gave the disaffected party hopes of succeeding. But in all their counsels they were weak, divided, and wavering. The duke of Orléans, regent of France, is said to be the first who gave the king infor-

A. D. mation of a recent conspiracy carried on by many
1722. persons of the first distinction, joined by several mal-contents of inferior quality. In consequence of this, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dispatched to Ireland to bring over troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were called upon to be ready with

their guaranty. The people, thus excited by new terrors, every day expected an invasion, and looked where the vengeance of government was likely to fall.

The first person who was seized was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate long obnoxious to the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formidable to any ministry he opposed. His papers were seized, and he himself confined to the Tower. Soon after, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lord North, and some others of inferior rank, were arrested and imprisoned. Of all these, however, only the bishop, and one Mr. Lyster, a barrister, felt the severity of government, the proofs against the rest amounting to no convictive evidence.

A bill was brought into the house of commons, impeaching bishop Atterbury, although he pleaded A. D. privilege as a peer. Though this met with some 1722. opposition in that house, yet it was resolved by a great majority in the house of commons, that he should be deprived of his dignity and benefice, and should be banished from the kingdom for ever. The bishop made no defence in the lower house, reserving all his force, which he intended to exert in the house of lords.

In that house his cause had many friends; and his own eloquence, politeness, and ingenuity, procured him many more. His cause coming before that assembly; a long and warm debate ensued, in which the contest was more equally managed than the ministry expected. As there was little or no proof against him, but what arose from intercepted letters, which were written in ciphers, earl Poulet insisted that such could not be construed into treason or offence. The duke of Wharton, having summed up the depositions, and shown the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that, let the consequences be what they would, he hoped the lustre of that

house would never be tarnished by condemning a man without evidence. Lord Bathurst also spoke in the bishop's favour, observing, that, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly to enjoy their estates within their own families, since the most trifling correspondence, or any intercepted letter, might be made criminal. Then turning to the bench of bishops, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore to the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities, of the man they should destroy. Notwithstanding all that was said in the bishop's favour, the bill passed against him; the other party saying very little, conscious of a majority in their favour. Among the members of the house of commons who exerted themselves in the bishop's favour, was the celebrated doctor Freind, who was himself soon after taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices; but he was admitted to bail, his friend doctor Mead becoming his security. The bishop's sentence being confirmed, he in two days after embarked for the continent, attended by his daughter. On the same day that he landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having, for some secret reasons, obtained his majesty's pardon. Atterbury, being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing with a smile, that they were exchanged. The bishop continued in exile and poverty till he died; though it may not be improper to observe, that doctor Sacheverel, dying some time before him, left him by will five hundred pounds.

The fate of Mr. Christopher Layer was more severe.

Being brought to his trial at the King's Bench, he was convicted of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, and of having endeavoured to stir up a rebellion; and he received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy are not clearly known. It is said that the intention of the conspirators was, by introducing a number of foreign officers and soldiers into England unobserved, to prepare a junction with the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided for that purpose. However this be, Mr. Layer was reprieved from time to time, and many methods tried to make him discover his accomplices; but he continued steadfast in his trust, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed on Temple-bar.

This trial was followed by another of a different nature, in which the interests and security of the nation were more deeply concerned. It had been usual for the chancellors, upon being appointed to their high office, to nominate the masters in chancery—a place of some value, and consequently then purchased as commissions in the army. Some men of improper characters having been appointed to this office, and having embezzled the money of orphans and suitors lodged in their hands, a complaint was made to the government, and this drew down the resentment of the ministry on the lord-chancellor himself. He found it necessary to resign the seals in the beginning; but soon after, A. D. 1725. the king ordered the whole affair to be laid before the house of commons.

The commons taking the affair into consideration, and finding that many abuses had crept into that court which either impeded justice or rendered it venal, resolved to impeach Thomas earl of Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

This was one of the most laborious and the best contested trials in the annals of England. A bill was previously brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days. The earl proved that such sums had been usually received by former lord-chancellors; and reason told that such receipts were contrary to strict justice. Equity, therefore, prevailed above precedent; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid, which was accordingly discharged in about six weeks after.

In this manner the corruption, venality, and avarice of the times had increased with the riches and luxury of the nation. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality. Religion, which might in some measure put a stop to these evils, was rather discouraged than promoted by the legislature. The houses of convocation, which had hitherto met purposely to inspect the morals of the people, and to maintain decency and dignity in the church, were now discontinued. Their disputes among each other were assigned as the cause; but a ministry studious of the morals of the people would have permitted them to dispute, and kept up their zeal by their activity. But internal regulations were not what the ministry at that time attended to; the chief object of their attention was, to gratify the sovereign with a continued round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the same spirit into the British constitution, however independent it might be as to the rest of Europe. This reign, therefore, was begun

by treaties, and the latter part of it was burthened with them. The chief object of all was, to secure to the king his dominions in Germany, and exclude the Pretender from those of Britain. To effect both purposes, England paid considerable subsidies to many different states of Europe for the promise of their protection and assistance; but it most commonly happened that the connexion was changed, or a variance ensued, before the stipulations on either side were capable of being executed. In this reign there were concluded no less than nine treaties; the barrier convention treaty, a defensive alliance with the emperor, the triple alliance, the convention treaty, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, the treaty of Vienna, and the convention with Sweden and Hesse Cassel. All these various and expensive negotiations were mere political play-things; they amused for a while, and are since neglected.

It must be owned that the parliament made some new efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffused through every rank of life; but they were supported neither by the co-operation of the ministry nor by the voice of the people. The treaties just concluded with Spain were already broken; but the spirit of commerce was so eager that no A. D. restrictions could bind it. Admiral Hosier was 1726. sent to South America, to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the Spaniards, being apprised of his design, re-landed their treasure. The greatest part of the English fleet sent on that expedition was rendered entirely unfit for service: the seamen were cut off in great numbers by the malignity of the climate and the length of the voyage; while the admiral himself is said to have died of a broken heart. In order to retaliate these hostilities, the Spaniards undertook the siege of Gibralt-

tar, but with as little success on their side. In this dispute, France offered her mediation, and such a reconciliation as treaties could procure was the consequence; a temporary reconciliation ensued, both sides only watching the occasion to renew hostilities with advantage. It was now two years since the king had visited his electoral dominions of Hanover; he therefore, soon after the breaking up of the parliament, prepared for a journey thither. Having appointed a regency in his absence, he embarked for Holland, and lay, upon his landing, at a little town called Voet. Next day he proceeded on his journey; and in two days more, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morning; but, between eight and nine, ordered his coach to stop. It being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, Monsieur Fabrice, who had formerly been servant to the king of Sweden, and who now attended king George, attempted to quicken the circulation by chafing it between his own. As this had no effect, the surgeon who followed on horseback, was called, and he rubbed it with spirits. Soon after, the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just strength enough to bid them hasten to Osnaburg. Then falling insensible into Fabrice's arms, he never recovered, but June 11, expired about eleven o'clock the next morning, 1727. in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

Whatever was good or great in the reign of this monarch, ought to be ascribed chiefly to himself: whenever he deviated, he might have been misled by a ministry always partial, sometimes corrupt. He was in every instance attended with good fortune, which was partly owing to accident, and more to prudent assiduity. His

successes in life are the strongest instance how much may be achieved by moderate abilities, exerted with application and uniformity.

He was married to the princess Sophia, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had the prince who succeeded him, and the queen of Prussia, mother to the celebrated Frederic. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE II.

A. D. 1727—1739.

UPON the death of George the First, his son, George the Second came to the crown; a man of inferior abilities to the late king, and strongly biassed with a partiality to his dominions on the continent. At his accession, the business of government was chiefly carried on by lord Townshend, a man of extensive knowledge and great skill in the interests of the different states of Europe; by the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of large connexions among the great, but of inferior abilities; and the earl of Chesterfield, a man of wit, insinuation, and address, though rather averse to the drudgery of business. But the chief person, and he who shortly after obtained the greatest share of power, was sir Robert Walpole, whom we have already seen so actively employed in supporting the house of Hanover.

This gentleman had risen from low beginnings, through two successive reigns, into great consideration. He was considered as a martyr to his cause in the reign of queen Anne; and when the Tory party could no longer oppress him, he still preserved that hatred against

them with which he set out. Being raised, in the beginning of this reign, to the head of the treasury, he probably set off by endeavouring to serve his country; but soon meeting with strong opposition, his succeeding endeavours were rather employed in keeping his situation than in adorning it. To defend the declining prerogative of the crown might perhaps have been the first object of his intention; but, soon after, those very measures by which he pretended to secure it proved the most effectual means to lessen it. By corrupting the house of commons, he increased their riches and their power; and they were not averse to voting away those millions which he permitted them so liberally to share. As such a tendency in him naturally produced opposition, he was possessed of a most phlegmatic insensibility to reproach, and a calm dispassionate manner of reasoning upon such topics as he desired should be believed. His discourse was fluent, but without dignity; and his manner convincing, from its apparent want of art.

The house, hitherto distinguished into Hanoverians and Jacobites, now altered their names with their principles; and the two parties went by the names of the Court and the Country. Both sides had been equally active in bringing in the Hanover family, and consequently neither much feared the reproach of disaffection. The court party, who were enlisted under the banners of the ministry, were for favouring all their schemes, and for applauding all the measures of the crown. They were taught to regard foreign alliances and continental connexions as conducive to internal security; they considered England as unable or unfit to be trusted in defending herself, and paid the troops of other countries for the promises of future assistance. Of these sir Robert was the leader: and such as he could not convince by his eloquence, he undertook to

buy over by places and pensions. The other side, or the country party, were entirely averse to continental connexions. They complained that immense sums were lavished on subsidies which could never be useful; and that alliances were bought with money from nations that should rather contribute to England for her protection. These looked upon the frequent journeys of the king to Hanover with a jealous eye, and sometimes hinted at a partiality shown in the royal breast in its favour. These were joined by the high-flying Tories, who now began to perceive their own cause desperate; and, as they were leagued with men who did not fear the reproach of Jacobitism, they gave and acquired greater confidence. As the court party generally alarmed the house of commons with imaginary dangers and concealed conspiracies, so they on the country side generally declaimed against the encroachments of the prerogative and the overgrown power of the crown. The complaints of neither were founded in fact: the kingdom was in no danger of invasions from abroad or from plots at home; nor was the crown, on the other hand, gaining any accession of power, but rather every day losing somewhat of its authority by insensible diminution. The king, chiefly attentive to his foreign dominions, regarded but little his prerogative at home; and he could admit of many limitations in England, to be possessed of plenary power in dominions which he probably loved more.

There seem to be two objects of controversy which, during this whole reign, rose up in debate at every session, and tried the strength of the opponents; these were the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the accession of the present king, owed more than thirty millions of money; and, though there was a long continuance of profound

peace, yet this sum was continually increasing. It was much wondered at by the country party how this could happen; and it was as constantly the business of the court to give plausible reasons for the increase, and to furnish a new subject of wonder for the ensuing session. Thus demands for new supplies were made in every session of parliament, for the purposes of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, securing friends upon the continent, or enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with the powers in alliance abroad. It was vainly alleged that those expenses were incurred without prescience or necessity; and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying and increasing taxes, would at last become an intolerable burthen. These arguments were offered, canvassed, and rejected; the court party was constantly victorious, and every demand granted with cheerfulness and profusion.

The Spaniards were the first nation who showed the futility of treaties to bind, when any advantage was to be procured by infraction. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy and cruelty of that nation, produced every day encroachments on our side, and as arbitrary seizures on theirs. The people of our West Indian islands had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent; but whenever detected, were rigorously punished, and their cargoes confiscated. In this temerity of adventure on the one hand, and vigilance of pursuit and punishment on the other, it must often have happened that the innocent suffered with the guilty; and many complaints were made, perhaps founded in justice, that the English merchants were plundered by the Spanish king's vessels upon the southern coasts of America, as if they had been pirates.

The English ministry, unwilling to credit every report

which was inflamed by resentment or urged by avarice, expected to remedy the evils complained of by their favourite system of treaty, and in the mean time promised the nation redress. At length, however, the complaints became more general; and the merchants remonstrated by petition to the house of commons, who entered into a deliberation on the subject. They examined the evidence of several who had been unjustly seized, and treated with great cruelty. One man, the master of a trading vessel, had been used by the Spaniards in the most shocking manner. He gave in his evidence with great precision, informed the house of the manner they had plundered and stripped him, of their cutting off his ears, and their preparing to put him to death. "I then looked up," cried he, "to my God for pardon, and to my country for revenge!"

These accounts raised a flame among the people which it was neither the minister's interest, nor perhaps that of the nation, to indulge: new negotiations were set on foot, and new mediators offered their interposition. A treaty was signed at Vienna, between A. D. the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the 1731. king of Spain, which settled the peace of Europe upon its former footing, and put off the threatening war for a time. By this treaty, the king of England conceived hopes that all war would be at an end. Don Carlos, upon the death of the duke of Parma, was, by the assistance of an English fleet, put in peaceable possession of Parma and Placentia, while six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure for him the reversion of that dukedom.

An interval of peace succeeded, in which scarcely any events happened that deserve the remembrance of an historian. Such intervals are the seasons of happi-

ness ; for history is generally little more than the register of human contention and calamity.

During this interval of profound peace, nothing remarkable happened ; and scarcely any contest ensued, except in the British parliament, where the disputes between the court and country party were carried on with unceasing animosity. Both sides, from moderate beginnings, at last fairly enlisted themselves in the cause, not of truth, but of party. Measures proposed by the ministry, though tending to the benefit of the nation, were opposed by their antagonists, who, on their side, were also abridged in the power of carrying any act, how beneficial soever it might have been. A calm disinterested reader is now surprised at the heat with which many subjects at that time, of little importance in themselves, were discussed. He now smiles at those denunciations of slavery and ruin which were entailed upon posterity, and which posterity did not feel. The truth is, the liberty of a nation is rather supported by the opposition than by the speeches of the opposition : the combatants may be considered as ever standing upon guard, though they are for ever giving a false alarm.

In times of profound tranquillity, the slightest occurrence comes in to fill up the chasm in history. A society of men, in this interested age of seeming benevolence, had united themselves into a company, by the name of the Charitable Corporation ; and their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor upon small pledges, and to persons of higher rank upon proper security. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds, but they afterwards increased it to six hundred thousand. This money was supplied by subscription, and the care of conducting the capital was intrusted to a proper number of di-

rectors. This company having continued for more than twenty years, the cashier, George Robinson, member for Marlow, and the warehouse-keeper, John Thomson, disappeared in one day. Five hundred thousand pounds of capital were found to be sunk and embezzled, by means which the proprietors could not discover. They therefore, in a petition, represented to the house of commons the manner in which they had been defrauded, and the distress to which many of the petitioners were reduced. A secret committee being appointed to examine into this grievance, a most iniquitous scene of fraud was soon discovered, which had been carried on by Thomson and Robinson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy; and even some of the first characters in the nation did not escape censure. A spirit of avarice and rapacity had infected every rank of life about this time; no less than six members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; Sir Robert Sutton, sir Archibald Grant, and George Robinson, for their frauds in the management of the charitable corporation scheme; Dennis Bond, and sergeant Birch, for a fraudulent sale of the late unfortunate earl of Derwentwater's large estate; and lastly, John Ward of Hackney, for forgery. Luxury had given birth to prodigality, and that was the parent of the meanest arts of peculation. It was asserted in the house of lords, at that time, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the service of the public, but became the reward of fraudulence and venality.

From this picture of avarice and luxury among the great, it is not wonderful to find instances of deplorable wretchedness among the poor. One Richard Smith, a

bookbinder, and his wife, had long lived together, and struggled with those wants, which, notwithstanding the profusion of the rich, pinched the lower orders of mankind. Their mutual affection was the only comfort they had in their distresses, which were increased by having a child, whom they knew not how to maintain. At length, they took the desperate resolution of dying together; but previously their child's throat was cut, and the husband and wife were found hanging in their little bed-chamber. There was a letter upon the table, containing the reasons which induced them to this act of desperation: they declared they could no longer support a life of such complicated wretchedness; they recommended their dog and cat to compassion; but thought it tenderness to take their only child with them from a world where they themselves had found so little compassion. Suicide is often imputed to phrenzy. We have here an instance of self-murder concerted with composure, and borrowing the aid of reason for its vindication.

A. D. A scheme set on foot by sir Robert Walpole 1733. soon after engrossed the attention of the public, which was to fix a general excise. The minister introduced it into the house, by going into a detail of the frauds practised by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent these frauds, he proposed, that, instead of having the customs levied in the usual manner upon tobacco, all hereafter to be imported should be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the officers of the crown, and should thence be sold, upon paying the duty of four-pence a pound, when the proprietor found a purchaser. This proposal raised a violent ferment, not less within doors than without. It was asserted, that it would expose the factors to such hardships that they would be unable to continue their

trade, and that such a scheme would not even prevent the frauds complained of. It was added, that a number of additional excisemen and warehouse-keepers would thus be employed, which would at once render the ministry formidable and the people dependent. Such were the arguments employed to stir up the citizens to oppose this law; arguments rather specious than solid, since, with all its disadvantages, the tax upon tobacco would thus be more safely and expeditiously collected, and the avenues to numberless frauds would be shut up. The people, however, were raised into such a ferment, that the parliament-house was surrounded with multitudes, who intimidated the ministry, and compelled them to drop the design. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster, and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace of London.

The members of the opposition acquired such strength and popularity by defeating the ministry in this scheme, that they resolved to try their force in an offensive measure, and made a motion for repealing the septennial bill, and bringing back triennial parliaments, as settled at the Revolution. In the course of this debate, the country party reflected with great severity on the measures of the late reign, and the conduct of the present minister. It was alleged that the septennial bill was an encroachment on the rights of the people, and that there was no method to overturn a wicked ministry, but by frequent changes of parliament. "Let us suppose a man," said sir William Wyndham, "of no great family, and of but mean fortune, without any sense of honour, raised to be chief minister of state. Suppose this man raised to great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are venal. Let us sup-

pose all attempts in such a parliament to inquire into his conduct, or relieve the nation, fruitless. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all men of ancient families, over all men of sense, figure, or fortune, in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to punish or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a case, which I hope will never happen, a prince upon the throne uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people; weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but, as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament may surely be prevented; and abridging its continuance is at least a certain remedy." Notwithstanding the warmth of the opposition, the ministry, exerting all their strength, were victorious, and the motion was suppressed by the majority. However, as the country party seemed to grow more powerful on this occasion than formerly, it was thought fit to dissolve the parliament, and another was convoked by the same proclamation.

The leaders of both parties in the new parliament were precisely the same as in the preceding, and the same measures were pursued and opposed with similar animosity. A bill was brought in for fixing the prince of Wales's household at one hundred

thousand pounds a year. This took rise among the country party, and, being opposed, was thrown out by the courtiers. A scheme was proposed by sir John Barnard for diminishing the interest on the national debt, and rejected in the same manner. But it was otherwise with a bill introduced by the ministry for subjecting the play-houses to a licenser.

The press had for some time taken the popular side of every question; and the play-houses, finding that most money was to be gotten by chiming in with the national humour, thought that exposing the ministry would procure spectators. At a little theatre in the Hay-market, the ministry were every night ridiculed, and their dress and manner exactly imitated. The ingenious Mr. Henry Fielding, finding that the public had no taste for new pieces of real humour, was willing to gratify their appetite for scandal, and brought on a theatrical piece which he called *Pasquin*: the public applauded its severity, and the representation was crowded for many nights, while Fielding began to congratulate himself upon his dexterity in discarding wit from the stage, and substituting politics, which the people liked better. The abuse, however, threatened to become dangerous; and the ministry, sensible of their strength, were resolved, as they expressed it, to suppress the licentiousness of the stage. Some of the pieces exhibited at that time were not only severe, but immoral also. On this ground the ministry made their attack. Sir Robert Walpole brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses, to subject all dramatic writings to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain, and to suppress all such as he thought would have a tendency to corrupt men's morals, or obstruct government. The bill was opposed by lord Chesterfield with great eloquence; but carried by a majority determined to vote with the mi-

nister. This bill, while it confined genius on the one hand, turned it to proper objects of pursuit on the other; and the stage is at present free from the scandalous license which infects the press, but perhaps rendered more dull from the abridgement of unlimited abuse.

New subjects of controversy offered every day; and the members on each side were ready enough to seize them. A convention agreed upon by the ministry, at the Prado, with Spain, became an object of warm altercation. By this the court of Spain agreed to pay 1739. the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to the English as a satisfaction for all demands upon the crown and the subjects of that kingdom, and to discharge the whole within four months, from the day of ratification. This, however, was considered as no equivalent for the damages that had been sustained; the country party declaimed against it as a sacrifice of the interests of Great Britain to the court of Spain, and alleged that the whole of their demands should be paid, which amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds. The minister on this occasion was provoked into unusual vehemence. He branded the opposite party with the appellation of traitors, and expressed his hope that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present government in opposing their designs. The ministry were, as usual, victorious; and the country party, finding themselves out-voted in every debate, resolved to withdraw for ever. They had long asserted that all deliberation was useless, and debate vain, since every member had enlisted himself not under the banners of reason, but of party. Despairing, therefore, of being able to oppose with any hopes of conviction, and sensible of the popularity of their cause, they retired from parliament to their seats in the country, and left to the ministry an undisputed majority in the house of commons.

The minister, being now left without opposition, was resolved to give his opponents the most sensible mortification, by an alteration in his conduct. He took this opportunity to render them odious or contemptible, by passing several useful laws in their absence. At the same time, the king himself laboured with equal assiduity at his favourite object of adjusting the political scale of Europe. For this purpose, he made several journeys to the continent; but in the mean time a rupture of a domestic nature was likely to be attended with many inconveniences. A misunderstanding arose between the king and the prince of Wales; and, as the latter was the darling of the people, his cause was seconded by all those of the country party. The prince had been a short time before married to the princess of Saxe-Gotha; and the prince, taking umbrage at the scantiness of the yearly allowance from his father, seldom visited the court. The princess had advanced to the last month of her pregnancy before the king had any notice of the event; and she was actually brought to bed of a princess, without properly acquainting the king. In consequence of this, his majesty sent his son a message, informing him that the whole tenour of his conduct had of late been so void of real duty, that he resolved to punish him by forbidding him the court. He therefore signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's with all his family; and, in consequence, the prince retired to Kew. This rupture was very favourable to the country interest, as they thus had a considerable personage equally interested with themselves to oppose the ministry. To the prince, therefore, resorted all those who formed future expectations of rising in the state, and all who had reason to be discontented with the present conduct of administration.

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

A. D. 1739—1742.

EVER since the treaty of Utrecht, the Spaniards in America had insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain, and the British merchants had attempted to carry on an illicit trade into their dominions. A right which the English merchants claimed by treaty, of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, gave them frequent opportunities of pushing in contraband commodities upon the continent; so that, to suppress the evil, the Spaniards were resolved to annihilate the claim. This liberty of cutting logwood had often been acknowledged, but never clearly ascertained; in all former treaties, it was considered as an object of too little importance to make a separate article in any negotiation. The Spanish vessels appointed for protecting the coast continued their severities upon the English; many of the subjects of Britain were sent to dig in the mines of Potosi, and deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to those who might send them redress. One remonstrance followed another to the court of Madrid, of this violation of treaty; but the only answers given were promises of inquiry, which produced no reformation. Our merchants complained loudly of those outrages; but the minister vainly expected from negotiations that redress which was only to be obtained by arms.

The fears discovered by the court of Great Britain only served to increase the insolence of the enemy; and

their guard-ships continued to seize not only all the guilty, but the innocent, whom they found sailing along the Spanish main. At last the complaints of the English merchants were loud enough to interest the house of commons; their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced by counsel at the bar of the house. It was soon found that the money which Spain had agreed to pay to the court of Great Britain was withheld, and no reason assigned for the delay. The minister, therefore, to gratify the general ardour, and to atone for his former deficiencies, assured the house that he would put the nation into a condition of war. Soon after letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; and this being on both sides considered as an actual commencement of hostilities, both diligently set forward their armaments by sea and land. In this threatening situation, the French minister at the Hague declared that his master was obliged by treaty to assist the king of Spain; so that the alliances which but twenty years before had taken place were now quite reversed. At that time France and England were combined against Spain; at present, France and Spain were united against England: such little hopes can statesmen place upon the firmest treaties, where there is no superior power to compel the observance.

A rupture between England and Spain being now considered as inevitable, the people, who had long clamoured for war, began to feel uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the ministry began to be as earnest in preparation. Orders were issued for augmenting the land forces, and raising a body of marines. War was declared with all proper solemnity, and soon after two rich Spanish prizes were taken in the Mediterranean. Admiral Vernon, a man of more courage than experi-

ence, of more confidence than skill, was sent commander of a fleet into the West Indies, to distress the enemy in that part of the globe. He had asserted in the house of commons that Porto-Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, could be easily destroyed; and that he himself would undertake to reduce it with six ships only. A project which appeared so wild and impracticable was ridiculed by the ministry; but, as he still insisted upon the proposal, they complied with his request, hoping that his want of success might repress the confidence of his party. In this, however, they were disappointed; for with six ships only he attacked and demolished all the fortifications of the place, and came away victorious, with scarcely the loss of a man. This victory was magnified at home in all the strains of panegyric, and the triumph was far superior to the value of the conquest.

As the war began thus successfully, it inspired the commons to prosecute it with all imaginable vigour. The minister easily procured from that assembly such supplies as enabled him to equip a very powerful navy. A subsidy was voted to the king of Denmark, and the king was empowered to defray some other expenses not mentioned in the estimates of the year. As the preparations for war increased in every part of the kingdom, the domestic debates and factions seemed to subside; and, indeed, it seems to have been the peculiar felicity of this nation, that every species of activity takes its turn to occupy the people. In a nation like this, arts and luxury, commerce and war, at certain intervals, must ever be serviceable. This vicissitude turns the current of wealth from one determined channel, and gives it a diffusive spread over the face of the country; it is at one time diverted to the laborious and frugal, and at another to the brave, active, and enterprising. Thus all

orders of mankind find encouragement; and the nation becomes composed of individuals, who have art to acquire property, and who have courage to defend it.

While vigorous preparations were making in other departments, a squadron was equipped for dis- A. D.
tressing the enemy in the South Seas, the com- 1740:
mand of which was given to commodore Anson. This
fleet was destined to sail through the straits of Magel-
lan, and, steering northward, along the coasts of Chili
and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Ver-
non across the isthmus of Darien. The delays and
mistakes of the ministry frustrated that part of the
scheme, which was originally well laid. When it was
too late in the season the commodore set out with three
ships of the line, a frigate and two store-ships, with
about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the
coast of Brasil, he refreshed his men for some time on
the island of St. Catharine, a spot that enjoys all the
fruitfulness and verdure of the luxurious tropical cli-
mate. Thence he steered downward into the cold
tempestuous regions of the south; and in about five
months after, meeting a terrible tempest, he doubled
Cape Horn. By this time his fleet was dispersed, and
his crew deplorably disabled with the scurvy; so that
with much difficulty he gained the delightful island of
Juan Fernandez. There he was joined by one ship,
and a vessel of seven guns. Advancing northward, he
landed on the coast of Chili, and attacked Paita by
night. In this bold attempt he made no use of his
shipping, nor even disembarked all his men; a few sol-
diers, favoured by darkness, sufficed to fill the whole
town with terror and confusion. The governor of the
garrison, and the inhabitants fled on all sides; accus-
tomed to be severe, they expected severity. In the
mean time, a small body of the English kept possession

of the town for three days, stripping it of all its treasures and merchandise to a considerable amount, and then setting it on fire.

Soon after, this small squadron advanced as far as Panama, situated on the isthmus of Darien, on the western side of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships which trade from the Philippine islands to Mexico. Not above one or two at the most of these immensely rich ships went from one continent to the other in a year; they were, therefore, very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong to defend it. In hopes of meeting with one of these, the commodore, with his little fleet, traversed the great Pacific Ocean; but the scurvy once more visiting his crew, several of his men died, and almost all were disabled. In this exigence, having brought all his men into one vessel, and set fire to the only other ship which remained with him, he steered for the island of Tinian, which lies about half-way between the New World and the Old. In this charming abode he continued for some time, till his men recovered their health, and his ship was refitted for sailing.

Thus refreshed, he set forward for China, where he laid in proper stores for traversing back that immense ocean in which he had just before suffered such difficulties. Having accordingly taken some Dutch and Indian sailors on board he again steered towards America; and at length, after various toils, discovered the Spanish galleon he had so long ardently expected. This vessel was built as well for the purpose of war as of merchandise. It mounted sixty guns, with five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. However, the victory was on the side of the English, and they returned home with

their prize, which was estimated at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, while the different captures that had been made before amounted to as much more. Thus, after a voyage of three years, conducted with amazing perseverance and intrepidity, the public sustained the loss of a small fleet; but a few individuals became possessed of immense riches.

In the mean time, the English conducted other operations against the enemy with amazing activity. When Anson set out, it was with a design of acting a subordinate part to a formidable armament designed for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor ever had the nation more sanguine hopes of success. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land forces; but he dying on the passage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whose abilities were supposed to be unequal to the trust reposed in him. The ministry, without any visible reason, detained the fleet in England, until the season for action in America was nearly over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, periodical rains begin about the end of April, and this change in the climate as surely brings on epidemical and contagious diseases. Having at length arrived on A.D. the coasts of New Spain, before the wealthy city 1741. of Carthagena, they landed their forces in order to form the siege of this important fortification. This city, which lies within sixty miles of Panama, serves as a magazine for the merchandise of Spain, which is conveyed from Europe thither, and thence transported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the native commodities of the New World. The taking of Carthagena,

therefore, would have obstructed the whole trade between Old Spain and the New.

To carry on the siege with safety, the troops were landed on the island Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previously fortified by all the arts of engineering. The land forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while Vernon, who commanded the fleet, sent a number of ships into the harbour, to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the army on shore. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops were commanded to storm; but the Spaniards deserted the forts, which, if possessed of courage, they might have defended with success. The troops, upon gaining this advantage, were advanced much nearer the city; but there they met a much greater opposition than they had expected. It was found, or asserted, that the fleet could not lie near enough to batter the town, and that nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by scaling. The leaders of the fleet and the army began to accuse each other, each asserting the probability of what the other denied. At length, Wentworth, stimulated by the admiral's reproach, resolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare should be attempted by scalade. Nothing could be more unfortunate than this undertaking; the forces marching up to the attack, their guides were slain, and they mistook their way. Instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, they advanced to where it was strongest, and where they were exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was killed in the beginning. Soon after, it was found that their scaling-ladders were too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders, and the troops stood exposed to the whole fire of the enemy;

without knowing how to proceed. After bearing a dreadful fire for some hours with great intrepidity, they at length retreated, leaving six hundred men dead on the spot. The terrors of the climate soon began to be more dreadful than those of war; the rainy season began with such violence, that it was impossible for the troops to continue encamped; and the mortality of the season now began to attack them in all its frightful varieties. To these calamities, sufficient to quell any enterprise, were added the dissensions between the land and sea commanders, who blamed each other for every failure, and became frantic with mutual recrimination. They only, therefore, at last could be brought to agree in one mortifying measure, which was to re-embark the troops, and to withdraw them as quickly as possible from this scene of slaughter and contagion.

The fortifications nearer the harbour being demolished, the troops were conveyed back to Jamaica; and this island, which of itself is sufficiently unhealthy, was considered as a paradise to that from which they had just escaped. This fatal miscarriage, which tarnished the British glory, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. The loudest burst of indignation was directed at the minister; they who once praised him for successes he did not merit, condemned him now for a failure of which he was guiltless.

To this cause of complaint, several others were added. The inactivity of the English fleet at home was among the principal. Sir John Norris had twice sailed to the coasts of Spain, at the head of a very powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step to annoy the enemy. The Spanish privateers, become numerous and enterprising, annoyed our commerce with great success, having taken, since the commencement of the war, four

hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. The English, though at an immense expense in equipping fleets, seemed to lie down unrevenged under every blow, and suffered one loss after another without reprisal. This universal discontent had a manifest influence upon the general election which followed soon after; and the complaints against the minister became so general, that he began to tremble for his safety. All the adherents of the prince of Wales, who continued to live retired from court as a private gentleman, concurred in the opposition. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and such a national spirit prevailed, that the country interest now at last seemed ready to preponderate.

In this situation, the minister finding the strength of the house of commons turned against him, tried every A. D. art to break that confederacy which he knew he 1742. had not strength to oppose. His first attempt was by endeavouring to disengage the prince from his party, by promises of royal favour, and other emoluments. The bishop of Oxford was accordingly sent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue; two hundred thousand should be granted him to pay his debts; and suitable provision should be made in due time for all his followers. This, to a person already involved in debt, from the scantiness of his pension and the necessity of keeping up his dignity, was a tempting offer. However, the prince generously disdained it, declaring he would accept of no conditions dictated to him under the influence of a minister whose measures he disapproved.

Walpole now saw that his power was at an end; but he still feared more for his person. The resentment

of the people had been raised against him to an extravagant height; and their leaders taught them to expect very signal justice to their supposed oppressor. The first occasion he had to find the house of commons turned against him, was in debating upon some disputed elections. In the first of these, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on his side, which had long been used to carry every question with ease, plainly proved that his friends were no longer able to protect him. A petition, presented by the electors of Westminster, complaining of an undue election, which had been carried on by the unjust influence of the ministry, and which they begged to set aside, was presented to the house. Sir Robert laboured with all his art to over-rule their petition; the house entered into a discussion, and carried it against him by a majority of four voices. He resolved to try his strength once more in another disputed election, and had the mortification to see the majority against him augmented to sixteen. He then declared he would never more sit in that house. The next day the king adjourned both houses of parliament for a few days; and, in the interim, sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

Nothing could give the people more general satisfaction than this minister's deposition. It was now universally expected, that, his power being abridged, his punishment was to follow; and mankind prepared themselves for some tragical event with vindictive satisfaction. Every person now flattered himself that every domestic grievance would be redressed; that commerce would be protected abroad; that the expensive subsidies to foreign states would be retrenched; and that the house

of commons would be unanimous in every popular measure. But they soon found themselves miserably deceived. Those who clamoured most against him, when put into power, began exactly to adopt all his measures.

At no time of life did this minister acquit himself with such art as on the present occasion. The country party consisted of Tories, reinforced by discontented Whigs: the former, implacable in their resentments against him, could not be mollified; the latter, either soured by disappointment, or excited by ambition, only wished his removal. To these, therefore, Walpole applied, and was willing to grant them that power at which they aimed; and, in return for this concession, he only demanded impunity. The offer was accepted with pleasure; their Tory friends were instantly abandoned; and, a breach thus ensuing, the same opposition still continued against the new ministry that had obtained against the old.

The place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed on Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury. Lord Harrington was declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state. Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy council, and afterwards created earl of Bath. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales took place soon after; and the change in the ministry was celebrated by rejoicings over the whole nation.

But this transport was of short duration; it soon appeared that those who declaimed most loudly for the liberties of the people had adopted new measures with their new employments. The new converts were branded as betrayers of the interests of their country; but particularly the resentment of the people fell upon the

earl of Bath, who had long declaimed against that very conduct which he now seemed earnest to pursue. He had been the idol of the people, and considered as one of the most illustrious champions that had ever defended the cause of freedom; but, allured perhaps by the hope of governing in Walpole's place, he was contented to give up his popularity for ambition. The king, however, treated him with that neglect which he merited: he was laid aside for life, and continued a wretched survivor of all his former importance.

The war with Spain had now continued for several years, and was attended with but indifferent fortune. Some unsuccessful expeditions had been carried on in the West Indies, under admiral Vernon, commodore Knowles, and others; and the failure of these was still more aggravated by the political writers of the day,—a class of beings that had risen up during this and the preceding administration, at first employed against Walpole, and afterwards taken into pay by him. Dull and without principle, they made themselves agreeable to the public by impudence and abuse, embarrassed every operation, and imbibittered every misfortune. These had for some time inspired the people with a disgust for their operations by sea, and taught them to wish for better fortune on land. The people became ripe for renewing their victories in Flanders, and the king desired nothing with so much ardour. It was resolved, therefore, to send a powerful body of men into the Netherlands, to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent; and immense triumphs were expected from such an undertaking, which the king resolved to conduct in person.

An army of sixteen thousand men were transported to Flanders, and the war with Spain became but an object of secondary consideration.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

A. D. 1742—1748.

To have a clear yet concise idea of the origin of the troubles on the continent, it will be necessary to go back for some years, and trace the measures of the European republic from that period where we left them in our former narrative. After the duke of Orléans, who had been regent of France, died, cardinal Fleury undertook to settle the great confusion in which that luxurious prince had left the kingdom. His moderation and prudence were equally conspicuous; he was sincere, frugal, modest, and simple: under him, therefore, France repaired her losses, and enriched herself by commerce; he only left the state to its own natural methods of thriving, and he saw it gradually regaining its former health and vigour.

During the long interval of peace which this minister's counsels had procured for Europe, two powers, till now unregarded, began to attract the notice and jealousy of the neighbouring nations. Peter the Great had already civilised Russia; and this new-created extensive empire began to influence the counsels of other nations, and to give laws to the North. The other power that came into notice was that of the king of Prussia, whose dominions were populous, and whose forces were well maintained and ready for action.

The other states were but little improved for the purposes of renewing the war. The empire remained under the government of Charles the Sixth, who had been placed upon the throne by the treaty of Utrecht.

Sweden continued to languish, being not recovered from the destructive projects of her darling monarch, Charles the Twelfth. Denmark was powerful enough, but inclined to peace; and part of Italy still remained subject to those princes who had been imposed upon it by foreign treaties.

All those states, however, continued to enjoy a profound peace, until the death of Augustus, king of Poland, by which a general flame was once more kindled in Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who long since had been nominated king of the Poles by Charles of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. In order to drive forward his pretensions, Stanislaus repaired to Dantzic, where the people very gladly received him. But his triumph was short; ten thousand Russians appearing before the place, the Polish nobility dispersed, and Stanislaus was besieged by this small body of forces. But though the city was taken, the king escaped with some difficulty by night; and fifteen hundred men that were sent to his assistance were made prisoners of war. France, however, resolved to continue her assistance to him; and this, it was supposed, would be the most effectually done by distressing the house of Austria.

The views of France were seconded by Spain and Sardinia, both having hopes to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria. A French army, therefore, soon over-ran the empire, under the conduct of old marechal Villars; while the duke of Montemar, the general of Spain, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the emperor had the mortification to see his own dominions ravaged, and a great

part of Italy torn from him, only for having attempted to give a king to Poland.

These rapid successes of France and its allies soon compelled the emperor to demand a peace. It was accordingly granted him; but Stanislaus, upon whose account the war was begun, was neglected in the treaty. It was stipulated that he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland; for which the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and some other valuable territories.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French began to think this a favourable opportunity of exerting their ambition once more. Regardless of treaties, particularly that called the Pragmatic Sanction, which settled the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles the Sixth, descended from an illustrious line of emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, deserted for a whole year by all Europe, and left without any hopes of succour. She had scarcely closed her father's eyes when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state to renew his ancient pretensions to that province, of which, it must be owned, his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; England was the only power that seemed willing to espouse her helpless condition. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance; and, last of all, Russia acceded to the union in her favour.

It may now be demanded, what cause Britain had to intermeddle in these continental schemes. It can only be answered, that the interest of Hanover, and the

security of that electorate, depended upon the nicely balancing the different interests of the empire; and the English ministry were willing to gratify the king. Lord Carteret, who had now taken up that place in the royal confidence which had formerly been possessed by Walpole, by pursuing these measures soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more extensive field for his own ambition. He expected to receive honour from victories which he seemed certain of obtaining; and wished to engage in measures which must be injurious to the nation, even though attended with the desired success.

When the parliament met, his majesty began by informing them of his strict adherence to engagements; and that he had sent a body of English forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the dominions of France, in the queen of Hungary's favour. When the supplies came to be considered, by which these Hanoverian troops were to be paid by England for defending their own cause, it produced most violent debates in both houses of parliament. It was considered as an imposition upon the nation, as an attempt to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles; and the ministry were pressed by their own arguments against such measures before they came into power. They were not ashamed, however, upon this occasion, boldly to defend what they had so violently impugned; and at length, by the strength of numbers, and not of reason, they carried their cause.

The people now saw with indignation their former defenders turned against themselves; patriotism they began to consider as an empty name, and knew not on whom to rely, since the boldest professors of liberty were purchased at an easy rate. But however these

continental measures might injure the real interests of the nation, they for that time served to retrieve the queen of Hungary's desperate affairs. She soon began to turn the scale of victory on her side. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, A. D. was obliged to fly before her; and, abandoned 1743. by his allies, and stripped even of his hereditary dominions, retired to Frankfort, where he lived in obscurity.

The French, who had begun as allies, were now obliged to sustain the whole burthen of the war, and accordingly faced their enemies, invading them on every side of their dominions. The troops sent to the queen's assistance by England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene. The chief object which he had in view in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, and thus to out-number the enemy in the field. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled an army of sixty thousand men upon the river Maine, under the command of marechal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side into a country where they found themselves entirely destitute of provisions, the French having cut off all means of their being supplied with any. The king of England arrived at the camp while his troops were in this deplorable situation; wherefore he resolved to penetrate forward, to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped: but before his army had marched three leagues, he

found the enemy had enclosed him on every side, near a village called Dettingen.

Nothing now presented but the most mortifying prospects: if he fought the enemy, it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he continued inactive, there was a certainty of being starved; and as for a retreat, that was impossible. The impetuosity of the French troops saved his whole army. They passed a defile, which they should have been contented to guard; and, under the conduct of the duke of Grammont, their horse charged the English foot with great fury. They were received, however, with intrepidity and resolution; so that they were obliged to give way, and repass the Maine with precipitation, with the loss of about five thousand men. The king of England, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemy's cannon, and in the midst of the engagement encouraged his troops by his presence and his example. The English had the honour of the day, but were soon obliged to leave the field of battle to the French, who treated the wounded English with a clemency peculiar to that generous nation. Though the English were victorious upon this occasion, yet the earl of Stair, who was commander-in-chief, did not assume any honour from such a victory. He was unwilling to share any glory which was so precariously obtained, and snatched rather from the enemy's mistake, than gained by his conduct. He therefore solicited leave to resign, which he obtained; and the troops desisted from farther operations in that campaign.

Meanwhile the French went on with vigour on every side. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was

now dead; and cardinal Tencin, who succeeded him in power, was a man of a very different character from his predecessor, being proud, turbulent, and enterprising. France, from the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, had been persuaded that the country was long ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the presence of a Pretender to bring about the change. Several needy adventurers who wished for a revolution, some men of broken fortunes, and all the Roman-catholics in the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in these sentiments, of which they themselves were persuaded. An invasion, therefore, was actually projected; and Charles, the son of the old Pretender, departed from Rome in the disguise of a Spanish courier, for Paris, where he had an audience of the French king.

This family had long been the dupes of France; but it was thought at present there were serious resolutions formed in their favour. The troops destined for the expedition amounted to fifteen thousand men: preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and some of the nearest ports to England, under the eye of the young Pretender. The duke de Roquefeuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed in England; and the famous count Saxe was to command them when put on shore. But the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of sir John Norris, who, with a superior fleet, made up to attack them. The French fleet was thus obliged to put back; a very hard gale of wind damaged their transports beyond redress; and the French, now frustrated in their scheme of a sudden descent, thought fit openly to declare war.

But though fortune seemed to favour England on this occasion, yet in other respects she was not equally

propositions. The English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron of ships into the Mediterranean to overawe those states who might be inclined to lend assistance to France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by Lestock; but admiral Matthews, though a younger officer, was sent out to take the superior command; which produced a misunderstanding between the commanders. There was soon an opportunity offered for these officers to discover their mutual A. D. animosity, to the injury of their country and 1744. their own disgrace. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of four-and-thirty sail, were seen off Toulon; and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engaging. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact; he had hung out that for forming the line of battle, which at the same time showed the signal for engaging. This was a sufficient excuse to Lestock for refusing to come up with alacrity; so that, after some vain efforts to attack the enemy in conjunction, Matthews resolved to engage as well as he could. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron struck to captain Hawke, but was next day burned by the admiral's order. Captain Cornwall was killed in the engagement, after continuing to give command even after his leg was shot off by a cannon. The pursuit was continued for three days, at the end of which time Lestock seemed to come up with some vigour; but just then Matthews gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed away for Port Mahon to repair the damage he had sustained. The English fleet was willing to claim the victory; and the French and Spaniards were not less pleased with their own good fortune. In England, however, this disputed success was considered as the most mortifying defeat, and the complaints of the people knew no

bounds. Both admirals, upon their return, were tried by a court-martial. Matthews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future incapable of serving in his majesty's navy. Lestock, who had kept at a distance, was acquitted with honour, having intrenched himself within the panetiles of discipline. He barely did his duty. A man of honour, when his country is at stake, should do more.

The proceedings in the Netherlands were as unfavourable to the English arms as their most sanguine enemies could desire. The French had assembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, the chief command of which was given to count Saxe, natural son to the late king of Poland, and who had long been a soldier of fortune. He had been bred from his youth in camps, and had shown very early instances of cool intrepidity. He had in the beginning of the war offered his services to several crowns, and among others, it is said, to the king of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. By long habits, this general had learned to preserve an equal composure in the midst of battle, and seemed as serene in the thickest fire as in the drawing-room at court. To oppose this great general, the English were headed by the duke of Cumberland, who neither possessed such talents for war, nor was able to bring such a formidable body of men into the field.

The French, therefore, bore down all before them. They reduced Fribourg; and, in the beginning of the succeeding campaign, invested the strong city of Tournay. Although the allies were inferior in number, and

A.D. 1745. although commanded by the duke of Cumberland, yet they resolved, if possible, to save this city by hazarding a battle. They accordingly marched against the enemy, and took post in sight of the French,

who were encamped on an eminence, with the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous situation did not repress the ardour of the English, who began the attack at two o'clock in the morning, and pressing forward, bore down all opposition. They were for near an hour victorious, and confident of success, while Saxe, who commanded the enemy, was at that time sick of the same disorder of which he afterwards died. However, he was carried about to all the posts in a litter, and assured his attendants that, notwithstanding all unfavourable appearances, the day was his own. A column of the English, without any command, but by mere mechanical courage, had advanced upon the enemy's lines, which, opening, formed an avenue on each side to receive them. It was then that the French artillery, on three sides, began to play upon this forlorn body, which, after continuing for a long time unshaken, retreated about three in the afternoon. This was one of the most bloody battles that had been fought in this age; the allies left on the field of battle near twelve thousand men, and the French bought their victory with nearly an equal number of slain.

This blow, by which the French gained Tournay, gave them such a manifest superiority all the rest of the campaign, that they kept the fruits of their victory during the whole continuance of the war. The duke of Bavaria, whom they had made emperor under the title of Charles the Seventh, was lately dead; but though his pretensions were the original cause of the war, that by no means was discontinued at his decease. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his room; and though the original cause of the quarrel was no more, the dissensions still continued as fierce as ever.

Notwithstanding ill success attended the British arms by land and sea, yet these being distant evils, the English seemed only to complain from honourable motives, and murmured at distresses of which they had but a very remote prospect. A civil war was now going to be kindled in their own dominions, which mixed terrors with their complaints, and which, while it increased their perplexities, only cemented their union. The intended French invasion had roused all the attention of the people, and nothing breathed throughout the whole kingdom but the destruction of a popish Pretender, assisted by French counsels and arms. The disappointment of that expedition served to increase the hatred of the people against the Pretender still more, as it showed that he was willing to be made a king, even by the open enemies of his country. The people, therefore, were never so ill disposed to receive him as at the very time which he fixed upon to make a descent.

The ministry was by this time changed; Mr. Pelham and the earl of Harrington being placed at the head of affairs. These enjoyed some share of popularity, and the operations of war were no longer thwarted by a turbulent opposition. The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortress of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, on the coast of North America, a place of great consequence to the British commerce, surrendered to general Pepperel; and a short time after, two French East India ships, and a Spanish ship from Peru, laden with treasure, put into the harbour, supposing it still their own, and were taken.

It was at this period of returning success that the son of the old Pretender resolved to make an effort for gaining the British crown. Charles-Edward, the adventurer

in question, had been bred in a luxurious court, without partaking in its effeminacy. He was enterprising and ambitious, but, either from inexperience or natural inability, utterly unequal to the bold undertaking. He was long flattered by the rash, the superstitious, and the needy: he was taught to believe that the kingdom was ripe for a revolt, and that it could no longer bear the immense load of taxes with which it was burthened.

Being now furnished with some money, and with still larger promises from France, who fanned his ambition, he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other desperate adventurers. Thus, for the conquest of the whole British empire, he only brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men.

Fortune, which ever persecuted his family, seemed no way more favourable to him: his convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled in an engagement with an English man of war, named the *Lion*, that it was obliged to return to Brest, while he continued his course to the western parts of Scotland, and, landing on the coast of Lochaber, was in a little time joined by some July 16, chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vassals, 1745. over whom they exercised an hereditary jurisdiction. By means of these chiefs he soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, and invited others to join him by his manifestoes, which were dispersed all over the kingdom.

The boldness of this enterprise astonished all Europe: it awakened the fears of the pusillanimous, the ardour of the brave, and the pity of the wise. The whole kingdom seemed unanimously bent upon opposing an enterprise which they were sensible, as being supported by papists, would be instrumental in restoring popery. The

ministers were no sooner confirmed in the account of his arrival, which at first they could be scarcely induced to credit, than sir John Cope was sent with a small body of forces to oppose his progress.

By this time the young adventurer had arrived at Perth, where the unnecessary ceremony was performed of proclaiming his father king of Great Britain. Descending from the mountains, his forces seemed to gather as they went forward; and, advancing to Edinburgh, they entered that city without opposition. There again the pageantry of proclamation was performed; and there he promised to dissolve the union, which was considered as one of the grievances of the country. However, the castle of that city still held out, and he was unprovided with cannon to besiege it.

In the mean time, Sir John Cope, who had pursued the rebels through the Highlands, but had declined meeting them in their descent, being now reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, resolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give the enemy battle. The young adventurer, whose forces were rather superior though undisciplined, attacked him near Preston-Pans, a few miles from the capital, and soon put him and his troops to flight. This victory, by which the king lost five hundred men, gave the rebels great influence; and had the Pretender taken advantage of the general consternation, and marched directly for England, the consequence might have been fatal to freedom. But he was amused by the promise of succours which never came; and thus induced to remain in Edinburgh, to enjoy the triumphs of a trifling victory, and to be treated as a monarch. By this time his train was composed of the earl of Kilmarnock, a man of desperate fortune, who had lately become discontented with the court for withdrawing a pension that had been granted to him; lord Balmerino, who had

been an officer in the English service, but gave up his commission in order to join the rebels; the lords Cromartie, Elche, Ogilvie, Pitaligo, and the eldest son of lord Lovat, who came in with their vassals, and increased his army. Lord Lovat himself was an enthusiast in the cause; but, being without principles, he was unwilling to act openly, afraid of incurring the resentment of the ministry, whom he still dreaded. Never was there a man of such unaccountable ambition, or who ever more actively rendered himself hateful and suspected by all. He was at first outlawed for ravishing the duke of Argyle's niece; he then offered his service to the old Pretender in France, and it was accepted; he next betrayed, to queen Anne, the forces which were sent to his assistance. He a second time invited the Pretender over in the reign of George the First; and being put in possession, by the chevalier, of the castle of Stirling, he did not scruple to deliver it up to the enemy. This man, true to neither party, had now, in secret, sent aid to the young chevalier; while, in his conversation, he affected to declaim against his attempt.

While the young Pretender was thus trifling away his time at Edinburgh (for, in dangerous enterprises, delay is but defeat), the ministry of Great Britain took every proper precaution to oppose him with success. Six thousand Dutch soldiers, who had come over to the assistance of the crown, were dispatched northward, under the command of general Wade; but, as it was then said, these could lend no assistance, as they were prisoners of France upon parole, and under engagements not to oppose that power for the space of one year. However this be, the duke of Cumberland soon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry, well disciplined, and

inured to action. Besides these, volunteers offered in every part of the kingdom; and every county exerted a vigorous spirit of indignation against the ambition, the religion, and the allies, of the young Pretender.

However, he had been bred up in a school that taught him maxims very different from those which then prevailed in England. Though he might have brought civil war, and all the calamities attending it, into the kingdom, he had been taught that the assertion of his right was a duty incumbent upon him, and the altering the constitution, and perhaps the religion of his country, an object of laudable ambition. Thus animated, he went forward with vigour; and having, upon frequent consultations with his officers, come to a resolution of making an irruption into England, he entered the country by the western border, and invested Carlisle, which surrendered in less than three days. He there found a considerable quantity of arms; and there too he ordered his father to be proclaimed king.

General Wade, being apprised of his progress, advanced across the country from the opposite shore; but, receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days' march before him, he retired to his former station. The young Pretender, therefore, thus unopposed, resolved to penetrate farther into the kingdom, having received assurances from France that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coasts, to make a diversion in his favour. He was flattered also with the hopes of being joined by a considerable number of mal-contents as he passed forward, and that his army would increase on the march. Accordingly, leaving a small garrison in Carlisle, which he should rather have left defenceless, he advanced to Penrith, marching in a Highland dress, and continuing his irruption till he came to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters.

He was there joined by about two hundred English, who were formed into a regiment under the command of colonel Townley. Thence he pursued his march to Derby, intending to go by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of followers; but the factions among his own chiefs prevented his proceeding to that part of the kingdom.

He had by this time advanced within a hundred and twenty miles of the capital, which was filled with perplexity and consternation. Had he proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would certainly have been joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach.

In the mean time, the king resolved to take the field in person. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law agreed to take the field, with the judges at their head; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of their country. These associations were at once a proof of the people's fears and their loyalty; while those concerned in the money-corporations were overwhelmed with dejection. But they found safety from the discontents which now began to prevail in the pretender's army. In fact, he was but the nominal leader of his forces; as his generals, the chiefs of the Highland clans, were, from their education, ignorant, and averse to subordination. They had from the beginning embraced an opposite system of operation, and contended with each other for pre-eminence; but they seemed now unanimous in returning to their own country.

The rebels accordingly effected their retreat to Carlisle without any loss, and crossed the rivers Eden and Sol-

way into Scotland. In these marches, however, they preserved all the rules of war : they abstained in a great measure from plunder ; they levied contributions on the towns as they passed along ; and with unaccountable precaution left a garrison in Carlisle, which shortly after surrendered to the duke of Cumberland at discretion, to the number of four hundred men.

The Pretender, having re-entered Scotland, proceeded to Glasgow, from which city he exacted contributions.

A. D. He then advanced to Stirling, where he was 1746. joined by lord Lewis Gordon, at the head of some forces which had been assembled in his absence. Other clans, to the number of two thousand, came in likewise ; and from some supplies of money which he received from Spain, and from some skirmishes in which he was successful against the royalists, his affairs began to wear a more promising aspect. Being joined by lord John Drummond, he invested the castle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney : but the rebel forces, being unused to sieges, consumed much time to no purpose. It was during this attempt, that general Hawley, who commanded a considerable body of forces near Edinburgh, undertook to raise the siege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk. After two days spent in mutually examining each other's strength, the rebels, being ardent to engage, were led on in full spirits to attack the king's army. The Pretender, who was in the front line, gave the signal to engage ; and the first fire put Hawley's forces into confusion. The horse retreated with precipitation, and fell upon their own infantry ; while the rebels following their blow, the greatest part of the royal army fled with the utmost precipitation. They retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the conquerors in possession of their tents, their artillery, and the field of battle.

Thus far the affairs of the rebel army seemed not unprosperous ; but here was an end of all their triumphs. The duke of Cumberland, at that time the favourite of the English army, had been recalled from Flanders, and put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men. With these he advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by several of the Scotch nobility, attached to the house of Hanover ; and, having revived the drooping spirits of his army, he resolved to find out the enemy, who retreated at his approach. After having refreshed his troops at Aberdeen for some time, he renewed his march, and in twelve days he came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. This was the place where the rebels might have disputed his passage ; but they lost every advantage in quarreling with each other. They seemed now totally devoid of all counsel and subordination, without conduct, and without unanimity. After a variety of contests among themselves, they resolved to await their pursuers upon the plains of Culloden, a place about nine miles distant from Inverness, embosomed in hills, except on that side which was open to the sea. There they drew up in order of battle, to the number of eight thousand men, in three divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery, ill manned and served.

The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon ; the cannon of the king's army did dreadful execution among the rebels, while their artillery proved totally unserviceable. One of the great errors in all the Pretender's warlike measures was his subjecting wild and undisciplined troops to the forms of artful war, and thus repressing their native ardour, from which alone he could hope for success. After they had been kept in

their ranks, and withstood the English fire for some time, they at length became impatient for closer engagement; and about five hundred of them made an irruption upon the left wing of the enemy with their accustomed ferocity. The first line being disordered by this onset, two battalions advanced to support it, and galled the enemy with a terrible and close discharge. At the same time the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the flank of the enemy, and which they had but feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, with great slaughter. In less than thirty minutes they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men. The French troops on the left did not fire a shot, but stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field in order, while the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their leaders obliged with reluctance to retire. Civil war is in itself terrible, but more so when heightened by unnecessary cruelty. How guilty soever an enemy may be, it is the duty of a brave soldier to remember that he has only to fight an opposer, and not a suppliant. The victory was in every respect decisive, and humanity to the conquered would have rendered it glorious. But little mercy was shown here; the conquerors were seen to refuse quarter to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceless; some were slain who were only excited by curiosity to become spectators of the combat, and soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner. The duke, immediately after the action, ordered six and thirty deserters to be executed; the conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and, after a short

space, the whole country round was one dreadful scene of plunder, slaughter, and desolation ; justice was forgotten, and vengeance assumed the name.

In this manner were blasted all the hopes and all the ambition of the young adventurer ; one short hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and sceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind, except such as sought his destruction. To the good and the brave, subsequent distress often atones for former guilt ; and while reason would speak for punishment, our hearts plead for mercy. Immediately after the engagement, he fled with a captain of Fitzjames's cavalry ; and when their horses were fatigued, they alighted, and separately sought for safety. He for some days wandered in this country (naturally wild, but now rendered more formidable by war), a wretched spectator of all those horrors which were the result of his ill-guided ambition.

There is a striking similitude between his adventures, and those of Charles the Second upon his escape from Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and dependent on the wretched natives, who could pity but not relieve him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions of his distress, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, as there was a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept most faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He had occasion, in the course of his concealments, to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whose veneration for his family prevailed above their avarice.

One day, having walked from morning till night, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which he well

knew was attached to the opposite party. As he entered, he addressed the master of the house in the following manner: "The son of your king comes to beg a little bread and a few clothes. I know your present attachment to my adversaries; but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or to take advantage of my distressed situation. Take these rags that have for some time been my only covering; you may probably restore them to me one day when I shall be seated on the throne of Great Britain." The master of the house was touched with pity at his distress; he assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the secret. Few of those who even wished his destruction would choose to be the immediate actors in it, as it would subject them to the resentment of a numerous party.

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, and other dreary tracts, for five months; often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still rescued by some lucky accident from the impending danger. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived in Loch-nanach, in which he embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frise, threadbare, over which was a common Highland plaid, gird round him by a belt, from which depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks; his eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles. They set sail for France, and, after having been chased by two English men of war, they arrived in safety at a place called Roseau, near Morlaix in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have

found it more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance of his pursuers been relaxed by a report that he was already slain.

While the Pretender was thus pursued, the scaffolds and the gibbets were preparing for his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London. Their constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause than even perhaps their victories would have obtained. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to the plantations of North America.

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, but the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, either convinced of his errors, or flattered to the last with the hopes of pardon, declared a consciousness of his crimes, and professed his repentance. But very different was the behaviour of Balmerino, who gloried in the cause for which he fell. When his fellow-sufferer was commanded to bid God bless king George, which he did with a faint voice, Balmerino still avowed his principles, and cried out aloud, "God bless king James!" Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the earl of Derwentwater (who was beheaded in the former reign), had been taken on board a ship as he was coming to reinforce the Pretender's army; and the identity of his person being proved, he was sentenced upon a former conviction, and suffered his fate upon Tower-hill with tranquillity and resolution. Lord Lovat was tried and found guilty some time after: he died with great intrepidity; but his sufferings did very little honour to his cause. Thus ended the last effort of

the family of the Stuarts for re-ascending the throne—dictated by youth and presumption, and conducted without art or resolution.

Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, and the tumult of terror and transport had subsided, the legislature undertook to establish several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of that people and the tranquillity of the united kingdoms. The Highlanders had till this time continued to wear the old military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. In consequence of this, they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready upon the shortest notice to second the insurrections of their chiefs. But their habits were now reformed by an act of the legislature, and they were compelled to wear clothes of the common fashion. What contributed still more to their real felicity, was the abolition of that hereditary jurisdiction which their chiefs exerted over them. The power of their chieftains was totally destroyed; and to every subject in that part of the kingdom a participation of the common liberty was granted.

While England was thus in commotion at home, the flames of war continued to rage upon the continent with increasing violence. The French arms were crowned with repeated success; and almost the whole Netherlands were reduced under their dominion. The Dutch in their usual manner negotiated, supplicated, and evaded the war: but they found themselves every day stripped of some of those strong towns which formed a barrier to their dominions, and of which they had been put in possession by the victories of Marlborough. They now lay almost defenceless, and ready to receive the terms of their conquerors—their national bravery being quite suffocated in the spirit of traffic and luxury.

The Dutch were at this time divided by factions, which had continued for above a century in their republic. The one declared for the prince of Orange and a stadtholder; the other opposed this election, and desired rather friendship than to be at variance with France. The prevalence of either of these factions, to its utmost extent, was equally fatal to freedom; for, if a stadtholder was elected, the constitution became altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarchy; if, on the contrary, the opposite party prevailed, the people must submit to the weight of a confirmed aristocracy, supported by French power, and liable to its control. Of the two evils they chose the former: A.D. the people in several towns, inflamed almost to 1747. sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral, of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French by sea and land. Thus the war which had begun but in a single country, was now diffused over all Europe, and, like a disorder, prevailed in different parts of this great political constitution, remitting and raging by turns.

The king of Sardinia, who had some years before joined France against England, now changed sides, and declared against the ambitious power of France. Italy felt all the terrors of intestine war, or more properly looked on, while foreigners were contending with each other for her usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the imperialists and the king of Sardinia on the other, ravaged those beautiful territories by turns, and gave laws to a country that had once spread her dominion over the world.

About this time the English made an unsuccessful attack upon Port l'Orient, a sea-port in France, but weakly defended, and drew off their forces in a panic. The French gained a considerable victory at Roucoux, near Liege, although it procured them no real advantage, and cost them as many lives as they destroyed of the enemy. Another victory, which they obtained at La-Feldt, served to depress the allied army still lower. But the taking of Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, reduced the Dutch to a state of desperation. However, these victories gained by the French were counterbalanced by almost equal disappointments. In Italy, the marshal Belleisle's brother, attempting to penetrate, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, into Piedmont, was routed, and himself slain. An unsuccessful fleet was sent out for the recovery of Cape Breton. Two more were fitted out, the one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the East Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine ships taken. Soon after this, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat which the French fleet sustained from admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line and several frigates were taken.

In this manner, victory, defeat, negotiation, treachery, and rebellion succeeded each other rapidly for some years, till all sides began to think themselves growing more feeble, and gaining no solid advantage.

The Dutch had for some time endeavoured to stop the progress of a war in which they had all to lose and nothing to gain. The king of France was sensible that after a victory was the most advantageous time to offer terms of peace. He even expressed his desire of gene-

ral tranquillity to sir John Ligonier, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of La-Feldt. But now the bad success of his admirals at sea, his armies in Italy, the frequent bankruptcies of the merchants at home, and the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who gave spirit to the opposition, more effectually contributed to make him weary of the war, and prompted him to propose an accommodation. This was what the allies had long wished for; and which, notwithstanding, they were ashamed to demand. The English ministry in particular, finding themselves unable to manage a parliament soured by frequent defeats, and now beginning to be disgusted with continental connexions, were very ready to accede. A negotiation was therefore resolved upon; and the contending powers agreed to come to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain.

This treaty, which takes its name from the city at which it was made, was begun upon the preliminary conditions of restoring all conquests made during the war. Hence great hopes were expected 1748. of conditions both favourable and honourable to the English; but the treaty still remains a lasting mark of precipitate counsels, and English disgrace. By this it was agreed that all prisoners on each side should be mutually restored, and all conquests given up; that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spanish throne, and to his heirs; but that, in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, these dominions should revert to the house of Austria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk toward the sea should be demolished; that the English ships, annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain, should have this pri-

vilege continued for four years; that the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia, which he had lately conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was more displeasing and afflictive to the English than all the rest. It was stipulated that the king of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clause; but, to add to the general error of the negotiation, no mention was made of searching the vessels of England in the American seas, upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their respective possessions in North America were not ascertained; nor did they receive any equivalent for those forts which they restored to the enemy. The treaty of Utrecht had long been the object of reproach to those by whom it was made; but, with all its faults, the treaty now concluded was far more despicable and erroneous. Yet such was the spirit of the times, that the treaty of Utrecht was branded with universal contempt, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was extolled with the highest strains of praise. But the people were wearied with repeated disgrace; and, only expecting an accumulation of misfortunes from continuing the war, they were glad of any peace that promised a pause to their disappointments.

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

A. D. 1748—1755.

THIS treaty, which some asserted would serve for a bond of permanent amity, was, properly speaking, but a temporary truce—a cessation from hostilities, which both sides were unable to continue. Though the war between England and France was actually hushed up in Europe, in the East and West Indies it still went forward with undiminished vehemence; both sides still willing to offend, still offending, and yet both complaining of the infraction.

In the mean time, as Europe enjoyed a temporary tranquillity, the people of England expected, and the ministers were liberal in promising them, a return of all the advantages of peace. In order to please the populace (for this ministry had the art always to keep the people in good humour) a magnificent fire-work was played off; and the spectators could never be brought to think that a bad treaty, which was celebrated with such magnificent profusion.

It must be confessed, also, there was some desire shown in the ministry to promote the commerce of the kingdom; and for this purpose a bill was passed for encouraging a British herring-fishery, in the manner of that carried on by the Dutch, under proper regulations. From the carrying such a scheme vigorously into execution, great advantages were expected. The Dutch, who had long enjoyed the sole profits arising from this article, considered the sea as a mine of inexhaustible wealth. But the patience and frugality of that nation seem to fit

them more properly for the life of fishermen than the English. Certain it is, that experience has shown this attempt to rival the Dutch to have been ineffectual. Perhaps the company was not established upon the strictest principles of œconomy; perhaps the Dutch art of curing their fish was not practised or understood perfectly.

In the mean time, Mr. Pelham, who now conducted A. D. the business of the state, and was esteemed a 1749. man of candour and capacity, formed a scheme for lightening the immense load of debt which the nation sustained in consequence of the late war. His plan was, to lessen the debt by lowering the interest which had been promised on granting the supplies, or else obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. Those, for instance, who were proprietors of stock, and received for the use of their money four per cent., were, by an act passed for that purpose, compelled to subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept three pounds ten shillings per cent. the following year, and three per cent. every year ensuing; and, in case of a refusal, assurances were given that the government would pay off the principal. This scheme was attended with the desired effect, though it, in some measure, was a force upon the lender, who had originally granted his money upon different terms, and under a promise of continuing interest. However, the measure was evidently beneficial to the nation; and experience has shown that it no way affected the public credit. Besides this salutary measure, others were pursued for the interest of the nation with equal success. The importation of iron from America was allowed, and the trade to Africa was laid open to the nation, under the superintendence of the board of trade.

But all the advantages the nation reaped from these salutary measures were not sufficient to counterbalance the stroke which liberty received, as some are of opinion, by an unusual stretch of the privileges of the house of commons. The city of Westminster had long been represented by members who were, in some measure, appointed by the ministry. Lord Trentham, member for Westminster, having vacated his seat in the house of commons, by accepting a place under the crown, A. D. again resolved to stand candidate, and met with 1750. a violent opposition. It was objected by some that he had been uncommonly active in introducing some French strollers, who had come over by the invitations of the nobility to open a theatre when our own were shut up. This accusation against him excited a violent combination, who styled themselves the independent Electors of Westminster, and who named sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, as his competitor. These resolved to support their nomination at their own expense, and accordingly opened houses of entertainment for the inferior voters, and propagated abuse as usual. At length, the poll being closed, the majority appeared to be in favour of lord Trentham; but a scrutiny being demanded by the other party, it was protracted by management on the one side, and tumult on the other. After some time, the scrutiny appearing in favour of lord Trentham, the independent electors complained of partiality and injustice in the high-bailiff of Westminster, who took the poll, and carried their peti- A. D. tion to the house. To this petition the house 1751. paid little attention, but proceeded to examine the high-bailiff as to the cause that had so long protracted the election. This officer laid the blame upon Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for the petitioners; and also upon the honourable Alexander Murray, a friend to sir

George Vandeput, and one Gibson, an upholsterer. These three persons were therefore brought to the bar of the house. Crowle and Gibson consented to ask pardon, and were dismissed, upon being reprimanded by the speaker. Murray was at first admitted to bail; but upon the deposition of several of the witnesses that he had headed a mob to intimidate the voters, it was resolved by the house that he should be committed a close prisoner to Newgate, and that he should receive this sentence at the bar of the house upon his knees. When he was conducted before the house, being directed to kneel, he refused to comply, and this threw the whole assembly into commotion. They then resolved to pursue more vigorous measures; ordered that he should be committed to Newgate, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him without permission of the house.

This imprisonment he underwent with great cheerfulness, sensible that by the constitution of the country his confinement would continue no longer than while the commons continued sitting; and at the end of the session he was accordingly discharged. But what was his amazement, at the commencement of the ensuing session, to find that he was again called upon, and that a motion was made for committing him close prisoner to the Tower! The delinquent, therefore, thought proper to screen himself from their resentment by absconding; but the people could not help considering their representatives rather as their oppressors, and the house as asserting rather vindictive than legislative authority. Some thought they saw in this measure the seeds of a future aristocracy; that the commons erected themselves into a tribunal where they determined on their own privileges, and ready to punish, without the consent of the other parts of the legislature. However;

the subject has still one resource against any violent resolutions of the house against him ; he may resist, if he thinks proper, as they are armed with no legal executive powers to compel obedience.

The people had scarcely recovered from the resentment produced by this measure, when another was taken in the house, which, in reality, made distinctions among the people, and drew a line between the rich A. D. and the poor that seemed impassable. This 1753. was an act for the better preventing clandestine marriages, and for the more public solemnization of that ceremony. The grievance complained of, and which this law was calculated to redress, was, that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced into marriage before they had acquired sufficient experience in life to be sensible of the disparity of the match. This statute, therefore, enacted, that the banns of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for a month at least before the ceremony. It declared that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a licence obtained from the bishop's court, should be void ; and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. This act was at that time thought replete with consequences injurious to society ; and experience has confirmed the truth of some of these objections. Infamous men have made a practice of seducing young women, ignorant of the law, by pretending a marriage which they knew to be illegal, and consequently no longer binding. The poor, by being prevented from making alliances with the rich, have left wealth to flow in its ancient channels, and thus to accumulate, contrary to the interests of the state. It has been found to impede

marriage, by clogging it with unnecessary ceremonies. Some have affirmed that lewdness and debauchery have become more frequent since the enactment of this law; and it is believed that the numbers of the people are upon the decline.

This session was also distinguished by another act, equally unpopular, and perhaps equally injurious to that religion which was still left among the populace. This was a law for naturalizing the Jews. The ministry boldly affirmed that such a law would greatly contribute to the benefit of the nation; that it would increase the wealth, the credit, and the commerce of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of political toleration. Others, however, were of different sentiments: they saw that greater favour was shown to the Jews by this bill than to some other sects professing Christianity; that an introduction of this people into the kingdom would disgrace the character of the nation, and cool the zeal of the natives for religion, which was already too much neglected. The bill was passed into a law; but the people without doors remonstrated so loudly against it, that the ministry were obliged to get it repealed the ensuing session.

An act equally unpopular with the two former was now also passed, which contained regulations for the better preserving the game. By this, no person, even upon the grounds which he himself rented and paid for, had the privilege of carrying a gun, or destroying game, unless he already possessed a stated fortune. This law was but of very little service to the community; it totally damped all that martial ardour among the lower orders of mankind, by preventing their handling those arms which might one day be necessary to defend their country. It also defeated its own end of preserving

the game; for the farmers, abridged of the power of seizing the game, never permitted it to come to maturity.

A scheme which the nation was taught to believe would be extremely advantageous had been entered upon some time before. This was the encouraging those who had been discharged from the army or navy to become settlers in a new colony in North America, in the province of Nova Scotia. To this retreat it was thought the waste of an exuberant nation might well be drained off, and those bold spirits kept in employment at a distance, who might be dangerous, if suffered to continue in idleness at home. Nova Scotia was a place where men might be imprisoned, but not maintained; it was cold, barren, and incapable of successful cultivation. The new colony, therefore, was maintained there with some expense to the government in the beginning; and such as were permitted soon went southward to the milder climates, where they were invited by an untenanted and fertile soil. Thus did the nation ungratefully send off her hardy veterans to perish on inhospitable shores; and this they were taught to believe would extend their dominion.

However, it was for this barren spot that the English and French revived the war, which soon after spread with such terrible devastation over every part of the globe. The native Indians bordering upon the deserts of Nova Scotia, a fierce and savage people, looked from the first with jealousy upon these new settlers; and they considered the vicinity of the English as an encroachment upon their native possessions. The French, who were neighbours in like manner, and who were still impressed with national animosity, fomented these suspicions in the natives, representing the English (and with regard to this colony the representation

might be true) as enterprising and severe. Commissioners were therefore appointed to meet at Paris, to compromise these disputes; but these conferences were rendered abortive by the disputes of men who could not be supposed to understand the subject in debate.

As this seemed to be the first place where the dissensions took their rise for a new war, it may be necessary to be a little more minute. The French had been the first cultivators of Nova Scotia, and, by great industry and long perseverance, had rendered the soil, naturally barren, somewhat more fertile, and capable of sustaining nature with some assistance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed masters, until at length the English were settled in the possession, and acknowledged as the rightful owners, by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this country was reckoned necessary to defend the English colonies to the north, and to preserve their superiority in the fisheries in that part of the world. The French, however, who had been long settled in the back parts of the country, resolved to use every method to dispossess the new comers, and spirited up the Indians to more open hostilities, which were represented to the English ministry for some time without redress.

Soon after this, another source of dispute began to be seen in the same part of the world, and promised as much uneasiness as the former. The French, pretending first to have discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the east, and quite to the Apalachian mountains on the west. In order to assert their claims, as they found several English, who had settled beyond these mountains, from motives of commerce, and also invited by the natural beauties of the country, they dispossessed them of their new settlements, and built such

forts as would command the whole country round about. It was now seen that their intention was to surround the English colonies, which lay along the shore, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country that lay on the back of our settlements; and thus, being in possession already of the northern and southern parts of that great continent, to hem the English in on every side, and secure to themselves all the trade with the natives of the internal part of the country. The English, therefore, justly apprehended, that if the French united their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Laurence, to their southern, which were accessible by the river Mississippi, they must in a short time become masters of the whole country; and by having a wide-extended territory to range in, they would soon multiply, and become every day more powerful.

Negotiations had long been carried on to determine these differences; but what could reason avail in determining disputes where there were no certain principles to be guided by? The limits of those countries had never been settled; for they were before this time too remote, or too insignificant, to employ much attention. It was not probable that powers, who had no right to the countries in dispute but that of invasion, would have equity enough to agree among themselves in sharing the spoil.

Not in America alone, but also in Asia, the seeds of a new war were preparing to be expanded. On the coast of Malabar, the English and French had, in fact, never ceased from hostilities.

This immense tract of country, which now saw the armies of Europe contending for its dominion, comprehends the whole peninsula of India Proper. On the coast of this country, the English, the French, and

several other powers of Europe, had built forts, with the original consent of the Mogul, who was then emperor of the whole tract. The war between the English and French there first began by either power siding with two contending princes of the country, and, from being secondaries in the quarrel, at length becoming principals. Thus the war was kindled in every part of the world. Most other national contests have arisen from some principal cause; but this war seemed to have been produced by the concurrence of several; or it may be more properly considered as the continuance of the late war, which was never effectually extinguished by the wretched and defective treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The government of England had long complained of these infractions, and these produced only recrimination; the two powers were negotiating, accusing, and destroying each other at the same time. At length, the ministry resolved to cut the knot which they could not loosen, and to act at once in open defiance of the enemy. Orders were accordingly dispatched to all the governors of the American provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual security; and, if possible, to bring the Indians over to espouse their quarrel. But this was a measure which, by long neglect, was now become impracticable. It had long been the practice of the English to cultivate the friendship of this fierce and hardy race in times of danger, but to slight it in circumstances of safety. This tended to alienate the affections of the Indians from the English government; but the avarice of our merchants, particularly of the Ohio Company, who sold them bad commodities, and treated them with perfidy and insolence, served to confirm their aversion. Beside, there was something in the disposition of the French adventurers in those regions more similar to theirs; they were hardy, enterprising,

and poor. The Indians, therefore, naturally joined those allies, from the conquest of whom, in case of enmity, they could expect no plunder; and they declared war against the English settlers, who were rich, frugal, and laborious, and whose spoils were worth wishing for.

In this manner the English had not only the A. D. French, but also the whole body of the Indian 1754. nations to contend with; but what was still worse, their contentions among each other rendered their situation yet more deplorable. Some of the English provinces, who, from their situation, had little to fear from the enemy, or few advantages to expect from success, declined furnishing their share of the supplies. At the same time the governors of some other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had left England in hopes of retrieving their lost circumstances by rapacity abroad, became so odious, that the colonies refused to lend any assistance, when such men were to have the management.

The successes, therefore, of the French in the beginning were flattering and uninterrupted. There had been for some time frequent skirmishes between the troops, and those of the government of England. They had fought with general Laurence to the North, and colonel Washington to the South, and came off most commonly victorious. It is unnecessary to transmit these trifling details to posterity, or to load the page with barbarous names and unimportant marches. It may be sufficient to say, that the two nations seemed to have imbibed a part of the savage fury of those with whom they fought, and exercised various cruelties, either from a spirit of avarice or revenge.

The ministry, however, in England began now a very vigorous exertion in defence of those colonies which re-

fused to defend themselves. Four operations were undertaken in America at the same time. Of these, 1755, one was commanded by colonel Monckton, who had orders to drive the French from the encroachments upon the province of Nova Scotia. The second, more to the south, was directed against Crown-Point, under the command of general Johnson. The third, under the conduct of general Shirley, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth was still more to the southward, against Fort Du Quesne, under general Braddock.

In these expeditions Monckton was successful; Johnson also was victorious, though he failed in taking the fort against which he was sent; Shirley was thought to have lost the season for operation by delay; Braddock was vigorous and active, but suffered a defeat. This bold commander, who had been recommended to this service by the duke of Cumberland, set forward upon his expedition in June, and left the cultivated parts of the country on the tenth, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival he was informed that the French of Fort Du Quesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred men, and would then become his equals in the field; he therefore resolved with all haste to advance and attack them, before they became too powerful by this conjunction. In consequence of this resolution, leaving colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as quickly as the nature of the service would admit, he marched forward with the rest of his army, through a country that still remained in primeval wildness, solitary and hideous, inhabited only by beasts, and hunters still more formidable. However, he went forward with

intrepidity, and soon found himself advanced into the deserts of Oswego, where no European had ever been. But his courage was greater than his caution: regardless of the designs of the enemy, he took no care previously to explore the woods or the thickets, as if, the nearer he approached the enemy, the more unmindful he became of danger. Being at length within ten miles of the fortress he was appointed to besiege, and marching forward through the forests with full confidence of success, on a sudden his troops were astonished by a general discharge of arms, both in front and flank, from an enemy that still remained unseen. It was now too late to think of retreating; his men had passed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted them to do before they offered to fire. The vanguard of the English now fell back in consternation upon the main body, and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself still continued to command his brave associates, discovering at once the greatest intrepidity and the greatest imprudence. An enthusiast in the discipline of war, he disdained to fly from the field, or to permit his men to quit their ranks, when their only method of treating the Indian army was by a precipitate attack, or an immediate desertion of the field of battle. At length Braddock, having received a musket-shot through the lungs, dropped, and a total confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army, were left to the enemy; and the loss sustained by the English army might amount to seven hundred men. The shattered remains of the army, soon after joining colonel Dunbar, returned by their former route, and arrived to spread the general consternation among the provincials of Philadelphia.

The general indignation that was raised by these de

feats drove the English into a spirit of retaliation by sea, where they were sure of success. Orders were therefore given to make prize of the French shipping wherever found, though they had yet published no formal declaration of war. With this order the naval commanders very readily and willingly complied; the French merchants' ships were taken in several places, and soon the English ports were filled with vessels taken from the enemy, and kept as an indemnification for those forts of which the enemy had unjustly possessed themselves in America. The benefit of this measure was much more obvious than its justice; it struck such a blow, that the French navy was unable to recover itself during the continuance of the war, which was formally declared on both sides shortly after.

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

A. D. 1756—1757.

THE war between the two nations being thus begun, and all negotiation at an end, both nations made vigorous preparations, both to annoy and to intimidate each other. In this the French were most successful; and for a long time had the satisfaction to see not only success attend their arms, but discontent and faction dividing the councils of their opponents. Their first attempt was by intimidating England with the threats of a formidable invasion. Several bodies of their troops had for some time been sent down to the coasts that lay opposite the British shores; these were instructed in the discipline of embarking and re-

landing from flat-bottomed boats, which were made in great numbers for that expedition. The number of men destined for this enterprise amounted to fifty thousand; but they discovered the utmost reluctance to the undertaking; and it was by degrees that the French ministry hoped to prevail upon them to proceed. Every day they were exercised with embarking and disembarking, while numbers of new flat-bottomed boats were continually added.

Whether these preparations were intended for actual descent, or made only to terrify the English, is yet uncertain; but it is manifest that they answered the latter intent entirely. The people of England saw themselves exposed, without arms, leaders, or discipline, to the designs of their enemies, governed by a timid, unpopular, and divided ministry. It was in this exigence that they applied to the Dutch for six thousand men, which they were obliged to furnish by the treaty in case of invasion. However, the Dutch refused the supply, alleging that their treaty was to supply troops in case of an actual and not a threatened invasion. The king, therefore, finding that he could not have the Dutch forces until assistance would be too late, desisted from his demand; and the Dutch, with great amity, returned him thanks for withdrawing his request.

The ministry, disappointed of this assistance, looked round the continent, to find where they might at any rate make a demand. The aid of a body of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand men, was to be purchased; and these the ministry brought over into England, to protect about as many millions of Englishmen, who were supposed incapable of defending themselves. But here the remedy appeared to the people worse than the disease. The ministers were reviled for having reduced the nation to such a disgraceful

condescension. The people considered themselves as no way brought under the necessity of borrowing such feeble aid. They only demanded a vigorous exertion of their own internal strength, and feared no force that could be led to invade them.

These murmurs, fears, and dissensions, among the English, gave the French an opportunity of carrying on their designs in another quarter; and, while the ministry were employed in guarding against the neighbouring terrors, they were attacked in the Mediterranean, where they expected no danger. The island of Minorca, which we had taken from the Spaniards in the reign of queen Anne, was secured to England by repeated treaties. But the ministry had neglected to take sufficient precautions for its defence; so that the garrison was weak, and no way fitted to stand a vigorous siege. The French, therefore, landed near the fortification of St. Philip, which was reckoned one of the strongest in Europe, and commanded by general Blakeney, who was brave indeed, but rather superannuated. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and for some time as obstinately defended on the side of the English.

The ministry, being apprised of this unexpected attack, resolved to raise the siege, if possible, and sent out admiral Byng with ten ships of war, to relieve Minorca at any rate. Byng accordingly sailed from Gibraltar, where he was refused any assistance of men from the governor of that garrison, under a pretence that his own fortification was in danger. Upon his approaching the island, he soon saw the French banners displayed upon the shore, and the English colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. He had been ordered to throw a body of troops into the garrison; but this he thought too hazardous an undertaking; nor did he even make an attempt. While he was thus deliberating between

his fears and his duty, his attention was quickly called off by the appearance of a French fleet, that seemed of nearly equal force to his own. Confounded by a variety of measures, he resolved to pursue none; and therefore gave orders to form the line of battle, and act upon the defensive. Byng had been long praised for his skill in naval tactics; and perhaps, valuing most those talents for which he was most praised, he sacrificed all claims to courage, to the applause for naval discipline. The French fleet advanced; a part of the English fleet engaged; the admiral still kept aloof, and gave very plausible reasons for not coming into action. The French fleet, therefore, slowly sailed away; and no other opportunity ever offered of coming to a closer engagement.

This caution was carried rather beyond the proper bounds; but a council of war, which was soon after called on board the admiral's own ship, deprived the English garrison of all hopes of succour. It was there determined to sail away to Gibraltar, to refit the fleet; and it was agreed that the relief of Minorca was become impracticable.

Nothing could exceed the resentment of the nation, upon being informed of Byng's conduct. The ministry were not averse to throwing from themselves the blame of those measures which were attended with such indifferent success; and they secretly fanned the flame. The news, which soon after arrived, of the surrender of the garrison to the French, drove the general ferment almost to phrensy. In the mean time, Byng continued at Gibraltar, quite satisfied with his own conduct, and little expected the dreadful storm that was gathering against him at home. Orders, however, were soon sent out for putting him under an arrest, and for carrying him to England. Upon his arrival, he was committed to close

custody in Greenwich hospital; and some arts were used to inflame the populace against him, who want no incentives to injure and condemn their superiors. Several addresses were sent up from different counties, demanding justice on the delinquent, which the ministry were willing to second. He was soon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a trial which continued several days, his judges at last agreed that he had not done his utmost, during the engagement, to destroy the enemy; and therefore they adjudged him to suffer death, by the twelfth article of war. At the same time they recommended him as an object of mercy, as they deemed his conduct rather the effect of error than of cowardice. By this sentence, they expected to satisfy at once the resentment of the nation, and yet screen themselves from conscious severity. The government resolved to show him no mercy; the parliament was applied to in his favour, but they found no circumstances in his conduct that could invalidate the former sentence. Being thus abandoned to his fate, he maintained to the last a degree of fortitude and serenity that no way betrayed timidity or cowardice. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board a man of war in the harbour of Portsmouth, he advanced from the cabin (where he had been imprisoned) upon deck, the place appointed for him to suffer. After delivering a paper, containing the strongest assertions of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for some time persisted in not covering his face; but his friends representing that his looks might intimidate the soldiers who were to shoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief; and then giving the soldiers the signal to fire, he was killed instantaneously. There appears some severity in Byng's punishment; but it

certainly produced, soon after, very beneficial effects to the nation.

In the mean time the French, who were now masters of Minorca, were willing to second their blow by an attack upon a country which they were sensible the king of England valued still more. Being convinced that they could not hold their acquisitions against such a superiority as the English possessed at sea, and the numberless resources they had of assisting their colonies with all the necessaries of war, they made no scruple of declaring that they would revenge all injuries which they should sustain in their colonies upon the king of England's territories in Germany; a threat which they secretly believed would soon compel the English ministry to accept such terms as they should be pleased to offer: or, in case of perseverance, they knew that it would divide the English forces, and lead them to a country where they must be manifestly inferior. In these hopes they were not much disappointed. The court of London, dreading the consequences of their indignation, and eager to procure the security of Hanover, entered into a very expensive treaty with the court of Russia, by which it was stipulated that a body of fifty thousand Russians should be ready to act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded; and for this the czarina was to receive a hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

This treaty with the Russians, which was considered as a master-stroke of politics by the ministry in England, soon appeared to be as nugatory as it was expensive. The king of Prussia had long considered himself as guardian of the interests of Germany, and was startled at a treaty which threatened to deluge the empire with an army of barbarians. This monarch, whose talents were well known even at that time, but who has since

become so famous, had learned by his sagacity to prevent the designs of his enemies while yet beginning, and to repress them by his courage when they were begun. He, therefore, took the first opportunity to declare that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or as principals. This consummate politician had, it seems, been already apprised of a secret negotiation between the Russians and the Austrians, by which the latter were to enter the empire, and strip him of his late conquest of Silesia. Thus England was but the dupe of Russian politics; she paid them a large subsidy for entering the empire, which they had already determined to perform without her commands.

The king of England, whose fears for Hanover guided all his counsels, now saw himself in the situation he most dreaded. His native dominions were now exposed to the resentment not only of France, but of Prussia; and either of these was sufficient at once to over-run and ravage his electorate, while the Russian subsidiaries were at too great a distance to lend him the smallest relief. Treaties were once more set on foot to lend a precarious security; and the king of Prussia was applied to, in hopes of turning his resentment another way. All that the king of England wished was, to keep a foreign enemy from invading Germany; and this the king of Prussia professed to desire with equal ardour. From this similitude of intention, these two monarchs were induced to unite their interests; and as they were both inspired by the same wish, they soon came to an agreement, by which they promised to assist each other, and to prevent all foreign armies from entering the empire.

From this new alliance both powers hoped to derive great advantages. Besides preserving the independence of the German states, which was the ostensible object,

each had a peculiar benefit in view. The king of Prussia knew that the Austrians were his secret enemies, and that the Russians were in league with them against him. An alliance, therefore, with the court of London, kept back the Russians, whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of punishing Austria, whom he long suspected. As for France, he counted upon that as a natural ally, which, from its long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, would ever continue steadfast in his interests. On the other side, the elector of Hanover had still stronger expectations from the benefits that would result from this alliance. By this he procured a near and powerful ally, whom he supposed the French would not venture to disoblige. He considered the Austrians as naturally attached to his own interest by gratitude and friendship; and he supposed that the Russians would at least continue neuter from their former stipulations and subsidy. The two contracting powers soon found themselves deceived in every one of these expectations.

This alliance soon after gave birth to one of an opposite nature, that astonished all Europe. The queen of Hungary had long meditated designs for recovering Silesia, which the king of Prussia had invaded when she was unable to defend her native dominions, and kept possession of by a reluctant concession. Her chief hopes of assistance were from Russia; and she expected that the rest of the powers in question would continue neuter. However, she now found by the late treaty that all her hopes of Russian assistance were frustrated, as England was joined with Prussia to counteract her intentions. Thus deprived of one ally, she sought about in order to substitute another. She applied to France for that purpose; and, to procure the friendship of that court, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages securing against that power

with its blood and its treasures. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political system of Europe acquired a new aspect, and the treaties of a century were at one blow rendered ineffectual.

This treaty between France and Austria was so soon ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede; and she, unmindful of her subsidies from England, ardently embraced the proposal. A settlement in the western parts of Europe was what that state had long desired to obtain, as, being possessed of it, this fierce northern empire could then pour down fresh forces at any time upon the southern powers, exhausted by luxury and mutual contention. Not Russia alone, but Sweden also, was brought to accede by the intrigues of France; and a war between that nation and Prussia was entered upon, though contrary to the inclinations of the respective kings.

The forces of the contending powers were now drawn out in the following manner. England opposed France in America, Asia, and on the ocean. France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe. This country the king of Prussia undertook to protect, while England promised him troops and money to assist his operations. Then again Austria had her aims on the dominions of Prussia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the same designs. In these views she was seconded by France and Sweden, and by Russia, who had hopes of acquiring a settlement in the west of Europe. Such were the different combinations which were formed to begin the general war, while the rest of the powers continued anxious spectators of the contention.

The preparations for war were first begun on the side of Austria, who had engaged the elector of Saxony in the general dispute. Great armaments were therefore put on foot in Moravia and Bohemia, while the elector

of Saxony, under a pretence of military parade, drew together about sixteen thousand men, which were posted in a strong situation at Pirna. But the intent of these preparations was soon perceived by the vigilant king of Prussia; and he ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explanation, and to extort proper assurances of the amicable intentions of that court. To this demand he at first received an evasive answer; and when he had ordered his minister to insist upon an open reply, whether the empress queen was for peace or war, and whether she had any intentions to attack him that or the next year, an ambiguous answer was still returned. He now, therefore, thought proper to suspend all negotiations, and to carry the war into the enemy's country rather than to wait for it in his own.

He accordingly entered Saxony with a large army, and, in the usual strain of civility, demanded from the elector a passage through his dominions, which he well knew the possessor was not able to refuse. In the mean time, he disguised his suspicions of the elector's having entered into a secret treaty with his enemies, and professed himself extremely pleased with that potentate's promises of observing a strict neutrality. But, to carry on the deceit, he entreated, that, as the elector's troops were totally unnecessary in consequence of his pacific disposition, he would disband them for the present, as he could not have any occasion for their services.

This was a proposal the elector neither expected nor was willing to comply with. He rejected the request with disdain; and the king, who probably caused it to be refused, resolved to turn the occurrence to his own advantage. Such was the situation of the Saxon camp, that, though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended

the quitting it that impeded the enemy from storming it. Of this his Prussian majesty took the advantage; and by blocking up every avenue of egress, he cut off the provisions of the Saxon army; and the whole body was soon reduced to capitulate. He took care to incorporate the common soldiers into his own army; and the officers who refused to serve under him he made prisoners.

The king of Prussia, thus launched into a tumult of war, with all the most potent states of Europe against him, and England only in alliance, went forward with a vigour that exceeded what history can show, and that may be incredible to posterity. King only of a very small territory, and assisted by an ally whose situation was too remote to give him any considerable succours, attacked and surrounded by his enemies, he still opposed them on every side. He invades Bohemia, de-
A. D. defeats the Austrian general at Lowositz, retreats, 1757. begins his second campaign with another victory near Prague, is upon the point of taking that city, but, by a temerity inspired by success, suffers a defeat at Kolin. Still, however, unconquered, "Fortune," said he, "has turned her back upon me this day. I ought to have expected it. She is a female, and I am no gallant. Success often occasions a destructive confidence. Another time we will do better." We have instances of thousands who gain battles; but no general ever before him acknowledged his errors, except Cæsar.

What the king said of the instability of fortune shortly began to appear, and she seemed totally to have turned her back upon him. One disaster followed upon the back of another. The Hanoverians, who were joined with him by his treaty with England, had armed in his favour, and were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, who appeared, from the beginning, sensible of the

insufficiency of his troops to face the enemy, by whom he was greatly out-numbered. He was driven beyond the Weser, the passage of which might have been disputed with some success; yet the French were permitted to pass unmolested. The Hanoverian army was now driven from one part of the country to another, till at length it made a stand near a village called Hastenbeck, where it was hoped the numbers of the enemy would have the least opportunity of coming to a general action. But the weaker army was still obliged to retire, and, after a feeble effort, left the field of battle to the French, who were not remiss in urging the pursuit. The Hanoverian forces retired towards Stade; by which means they marched into a country where they could neither procure provisions, nor yet attack the enemy with hopes of success. Unable, therefore, by their situation, to escape, or by their strength to advance, they were compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole body laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable capitulation, which was called the treaty of Closter-Seven, Hanover was obliged to submit peaceably to the French, who now were determined to turn upon the king of Prussia with undiminished forces.

The situation of this monarch was become desperate; nor could human foresight discover how he could extricate himself from his difficulties. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side, commanded by marechal Broglio. The Russians, who for some time had hovered over his empire, under the conduct of general Apraxin, all at once hastened onward to overwhelm him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia; and penetrating as far as Breslau, turned to the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which, after an obstinate defence,

they obliged to surrender. Another army of the same power entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and, still pressing forward, laid Berlin under contribution. On another quarter, a body of twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and exacted tribute from the whole country. In this multitude of invaders, it was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every incursion, though his enemies fled before him: while he pursued one body, another penetrated from behind; and even while he was victorious, his dominions were every day diminishing. The greatest part of his territory was laid under contribution; most of his strong cities were taken; and he had no resources but in the generosity of the British parliament, and his own extensive abilities.

The succours of the English could be of very little advantage to him, particularly as the Hanoverians were restrained by treaty from acting in his favour. The ministry however, conscious that something should be done, planned an enterprise against the coast of France, which, by causing a diversion in that part of the kingdom, would draw off the attention of the enemy from Prussia, and give that monarch time to respire. Beside this intention, England also hoped to give a blow to the French marine, by destroying such ships as were building or were laid up in the harbour of Rochefort, against which city their operations were principally intended. The English ministry kept the object of their enterprise a profound secret; and France was for some time filled with apprehensions, till at length the fleet appeared off Rochefort, where the commanders spent some time in deliberating how to proceed. After consultation, it was determined to secure the little island of Aix, an easy conquest, and of no benefit to the in-

vaders. In the mean time, the militia of the country, recovering from their consternation, had leisure to assemble, and there was the appearance of two camps on shore. The commanders, who, from the badness of the weather, were prevented from landing, now began to fear greater dangers from the enemy on land. They took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had been preparing for a vigorous defence, and their own unfitness to reduce it by any other means but a sudden attack. This induced them to desist from farther operations; and they unanimously resolved to return home, without making any effort.

From this expedition, therefore, the king of Prussia reaped very little advantage; and the despondence among the English was so great, that the ministry had thoughts of giving up his cause entirely. It was supposed that no military efforts could save him; and that the only hope remaining was to make the best terms possible for him with his victorious enemies. The king of England was actually meditating a negociation of this nature, when his distressed ally expostulated with him to the following purpose. "Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Consider the step you have made me undertake; and remember you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I entreat that you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe." In this terrible situation, England resolved, more from motives of generosity than of interest, to support his de-

clining cause ; and success, that for a long time fled her arms, began to return with double splendor. The efforts of the parliament only rose by defeat ; and every resource seemed to augment with multiplied disappointment.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

A. D. 1757—1760.

THE East was the quarter on which success first began to dawn upon the British arms. The war in our Asiatic territories had never been wholly suspended. It was carried on at first by both nations under the colour of lending assistance to the contending chiefs of the country ; but the allies soon became the principals in the contention. This war at first, and for a long time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was carried on with doubtful success ; but at length the affairs of the English seemed to gain the ascendancy, by the conduct of Mr. Clive. This gentleman had at first entered the company's service in a civil capacity ; but, finding his talents more adapted to war, he gave up his clerkship, and joined among the troops as a volunteer. His courage, which is all that subordinate officers can at first show, soon became remarkable ; but his conduct, expedition, and military skill, soon after became so conspicuous, as to raise him to the first rank in the army.

The first advantage that was obtained from his activity and courage was the clearing the province of Arcot. Soon after, the French general was taken prisoner ; and the nabob, whom the English supported, was rein-

stated in the government, of which he had formerly been deprived.

The French, discouraged by these misfortunes, and sensible of their own inferiority in this part of the globe, sent over a commissary to Europe to restore peace. A convention, between the two companies, was accordingly concluded; importing that the territories taken on either side since the conclusion of the last peace should be restored; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences that should arise between the princes of the country.

This cessation, which promised such lasting tranquillity, was, nevertheless, but of short duration. Compacts made between trading companies can never be of long continuance, when advantage is opposed to good faith. In a few months, both sides renewed their operations, no longer under the name of auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce. It is not sufficiently known what were the motives for this infraction; but wherever there is trade there is avarice, and that is a passion which overleaps the bounds of equity. Certain it is that the prince of the greatest power in that country declared war against the English from motives of personal resentment, and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, one of the principal British forts in that part of the world, but which was not in a state of strength to defend itself against the attack even of barbarians. The fort was taken, having been deserted by the commander; and the garrison, to the number of a hundred and forty-six persons, were made prisoners.

They expected the usual treatment of prisoners of war, and were therefore the less vigorous in their defence; but they soon found what mercy was to be ex-

pected from a savage conqueror. They were all crowded together into a narrow prison, called the Black-Hole, of about eighteen feet square, and receiving air only by two small iron windows to the west, which by no means afforded a sufficient circulation. It is terrible to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate men, shut up in this narrow place, in the burning climate of the East, and suffocating each other. Their first efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horrid confinement, were to break open the door of the prison; but, as it opened inward, they soon found that impossible. They next endeavoured to excite compassion or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large sum of money for his assistance in removing them to separate prisons; but with this he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was asleep, and no person dared to disturb him. They were now left to die without hopes of relief; and the whole prison was filled with groans, shrieks, contest, and despair. This turbulence, however, soon after sunk into a calm still more hideous; their efforts of strength and courage were over, and an expiring languor succeeded. In the morning, when the keepers came to visit the prison, all was horror, silence, and desolation. Of a hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these the greatest part died of putrid fevers upon being set free.

The destruction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous successes of the English company. But the fortune of Mr. Clive, backed by the activity of an English fleet under admiral Watson, still turned the scale in their favour. Among the number of those who felt the power of the English in this part of the world, was the famous Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince, who had long infested the Indian Ocean, and made the princes on the coast his tributaries. He main-

tained a large number of galleys, and with these he attacked the largest ships, and almost ever with success. As the company had been greatly harassed by his depredations, they resolved to subdue such a dangerous enemy, and attack him in his own fortress. In pursuance of this resolution, admiral Watson and colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Geriah; and though they sustained a warm fire as they entered, yet they soon threw all his fleet into flames, and obliged his fort to surrender at discretion. The conquerors found there a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects to a considerable value.

From this conquest colonel Clive proceeded to take revenge for the cruelty practised upon the English at Calcutta; and, having arrived at Ballasore in the kingdom of Bengal, he met with little opposition either to the fleet or the army, till they came before Calcutta, which seemed resolved to stand a regular siege. As soon as the admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries, which he soon returned with still greater execution, and in less than two hours obliged them to abandon their fortifications. By these means, the English took possession of the two strongest settlements on the banks of the Ganges; but that of Geriah they demolished to the ground.

Soon after these successes, Hughly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former; and all the viceroy's store-houses and granaries were destroyed. In order to repair these losses, this barbarous prince assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, and professed a firm resolution of expelling the English from all the settlements in that part of the world. Upon the first intelligence of his march, colonel Clive, obtaining a reinforcement of men

from the admiral's ship, advanced with his little army to fight these numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns; and, though the numbers were so disproportioned, victory soon declared in favour of the English. This, as well as several other victories gained by this commander against such a numerous enemy, teach us no longer to wonder at those conquests which were gained formerly by European troops over this weak and effeminate people. Indeed, what can slavish Asiatic troops do against an army, however small, hardened by discipline, and animated by honour? All the customs, habits, and opinions of the Asiatics, tend to effeminate the body, and dispirit the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack dressed in long silken garments, with no other courage than what opium can inspire, no other fears from a defeat but of changing their tyrant, with their chief commander mounted on an elephant, and consequently a more conspicuous object of aim, their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious on the slightest wound, every soldier among them unacquainted with cool intrepidity, which provides against danger, and only fighting by the same fury that raises their passions; if we consider all these circumstances, we shall not be surprised at European victories, and that two or three thousand men are able to defeat the largest armies they can bring into the field. All the heroism of a Cyrus, or an Alexander, in this view, will sink in our esteem, and no longer continue the object of admiration.

A victory so easily acquired by a small body of foreigners soon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his subjects at home. His cowardice now rendered him despicable, and his former cruelty odious. A conspiracy, therefore, was projected against him by Ali Khan, his prime minister; and the English, having pri-

vate intimations of the design, resolved to second it with all their endeavours. Accordingly, colonel Clive, knowing that he had a friend in the enemy's camp, marched forward, and soon came up with the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army, and fitted it once more for action. After a short contest, however, Clive was as usual victorious; the whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with terrible slaughter. Ali Khan, who first incited his master to this undertaking, had hitherto concealed his attachments to the English, till he saw there was no danger from his perfidy. But, upon the assurance of the victory, he openly espoused the side of the conquerors; and in consequence of his private service, was solemnly proclaimed, by colonel Clive, viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in the room of the former nabob, who was solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by his perfidious successor.

The English, having placed a viceroy on the throne (for the Mogul had long lost all power in India), took care to exact such stipulations in their own favour, as would secure them the possession of the country whenever they thought proper to resume their authority. They were gratified in their avarice to its extreme wish; and that wealth which they had plundered from slaves in India, they were resolved to employ in making slaves at home.

From the conquest of the Indians, colonel Clive turned to the humbling of the French, who had long disputed empire in that part of the world. Chandanagore, a French settlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was compelled to submit to the English arms. The goods and money found in this place were considerable; but the chief damage the French sustained was from the ruin of this their chief settlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this

part of the continent. Thus, in one campaign, which was carried on by the activity of Clive, and seconded by the operations of the admirals Watson and Pococke, the English became possessed of a territory superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and the number of its inhabitants, to any part of Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the company and the survivors of those who were imprisoned at Calcutta; the soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English power became irresistible in that part of the world.

This success was not a little alarming to the French ministry; and it is supposed that even the Dutch entertained some jealousy of this growing greatness. To make some degree of opposition, the king of France sent out a considerable reinforcement, under the command of general Lally, an Irishman, from whose great experience sanguine hopes were conceived. Lally was one of the bravest soldiers in the French service, but the most unfit man in the world to be connected with a trading company, as he was fierce, proud, and precipitate, not without a mixture of avarice, which tempted him to share in their gain. He had been from his youth bred up to arms, and carried the spirit of discipline to a faulty extreme, in a place where the nature of the service required its relaxation.

Under the guidance of this whimsical man, the affairs of the French for some time seemed to wear a face of success. He took from the English their settlement of Fort St. David, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjore, in alliance with the enemy. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important place, a greater variety of difficulties presented than

he had expected or prepared for. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while on the other side the French soldiers acted with the greatest timidity; nor did even the council of Pondicherry second the ardour of the general. It was in vain that Lally attempted to lead on his men to a breach that had been practicable for several days; it continued open for a fortnight, and not one dared to venture the assault. To add to his embarrassments, he was very ill supplied with provisions, and he found the garrison had received a reinforcement. Despairing, therefore, of success, he raised the siege, and this so intimidated his troops, that they seemed quite dispirited in every succeeding operation.

But while success was thus doubtful between the contending nations, a rupture seemed to be in preparation upon a quarter where the English least expected. The Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing their garrisons in Bengal, equipped seven ships, which were ordered to sail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chinsura so formidable as to exclude all other nations from the saltpetre trade, which was carried on there; and thus monopolize so beneficial a commodity. This design, however, colonel Clive thought proper to oppose. He accordingly sent the Dutch commander a letter, informing him that he could not permit his landing, and marching his forces to the fort intended, as he foresaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no such designs of monopoly as were imputed to him, and he only requested the liberty to land and refresh his troops; which request, seemingly so reasonable, was quickly granted. However the Dutch commander continued submissive no longer than he supposed himself unable to act with vigour; for, as soon as he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river,

he boldly began his march to Chinsura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English in his passage up the river, to retaliate the affront he pretended to have received.

Whether the Calcutta Indiaman was sent out upon this occasion to oppose the Dutch, or whether it was only pursuing its voyage down the river to England, is not known; but certain it is, that she was prevented by the Dutch commander from going onward, and obliged to return to Calcutta with the complaints of this treatment to colonel Clive. The colonel was not slow in vindicating the honour of his country; and, as there happened to be three India ships at that time in the harbour, he gave them instant orders to meet the Dutch fleet, and sink them if they offered to resist. This command was obeyed with great alacrity; but, after a few broadsides on either side, the Dutch commander struck, and the rest of the fleet followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without any great damage, captain Wilson, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the fleet of the enemy, and sent their men prisoners to the English fort; while about the same time their land forces were defeated by colonel Ford, sent by Clive upon that duty. This contest threatened a new rupture in that part of the world; but a negotiation soon after ensuing, the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were not able to withstand, and were content to sit down with the loss.

In the mean time, the operations against the French were carried on with much more splendid success. The troops, headed by colonel Coote, a native of Ireland, and possessed of prudence and bravery, marched against general Lally, resolved to come to a decisive engagement. On his march he took the town of Wandewash; he afterwards reduced the fortress of Carangoly, and at

length came up with the French general, who had no thoughts of declining the engagement. In the morning early the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. The engagement continued with great obstinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and fled towards their camp, which they as quickly abandoned, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle to the conquerors.

The retaking the city of Arcot was the consequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but the strong town of Pondicherry, their largest and most beautiful settlement. This city, which was the capital of the French establishments in India, exceeded, in the days of its prosperity, all other European factories there, in trade, opulence, and splendour; and whatever wealth the French still possessed, after repeated losses, was deposited there. As soon as the fortresses adjacent were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before the city, determined to blockade it by land, while admiral Stevens shut up the harbour by sea. A regular siege was at that time impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate would not fail to obstruct all such operations. However, neither the rains nor the inclemency of the climate were able to abate the ardour of the besiegers; the blockade was continued, and the garrison was pressed in such a manner, that it was reduced to extreme distress. Though the French soldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, Lally, the commander, was determined to hold out to the last. In the midst of the garrison's distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been seized with vigour. One of those terrible tempests, common in that climate,

wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour. Lally wrote the most pressing letters to the French residents at the Dutch settlements, to be supplied with provisions; but to his mortification, instead of seeing the French boats coming to his relief, he only saw, in less than four days, the English admiral again entering the harbour, having repaired the damage he had lately sustained. Lally, however, still determined to hold out, and with a savage obstinacy saw his troops half consuming with fatigue and famine around him. At length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that no more than one day's provisions remained, he permitted a signal to be made for ceasing hostilities. Yet the strong perverseness of his temper continued; he sent a paper filled with reproaches against the English, and alleged that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had transgressed all the laws of honour. He surrendered the place, not in his own person, but permitted some inferior officers in the garrison to obtain terms of capitulation. This conquest put an end to the power of France in India. The chief part of the territory and trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was annexed to the British empire. The princes of the country, after some vain opposition to the English power, were at length contented to submit.

In the mean time, while conquest shined upon us from the East, it was still more splendid in the western world. Some alterations in the ministry led to those successes which had been long wished for by the nation, and were at length obtained. The affairs of war had been hitherto directed by a ministry but ill supported by the commons, because not confided in by the people. They seemed timid and wavering; and but feebly held

together, rather by their fears than their mutual confidence. When any new measure was proposed which could not receive their approbation, or any new member was introduced into government whom they did not appoint, they considered it as an infringement upon their respective departments, and threw up their places in disgust, with a view to resume them with greater lustre. Thus the strength of the crown was every day declining, while an aristocracy filled up every avenue to the throne, intent only on the emoluments, not the duties, of office.

This was at that time the general opinion of the people, and it was too loud not to reach the throne. The ministry that had hitherto hedged in the throne were at length obliged to admit some men into a share of the government, whose activity at least would counterbalance their timidity and irresolution. At the head of the newly introduced party was the celebrated Mr. William Pitt, from whose vigour the nation formed very great expectations, and they were not deceived.

Though the old ministers were obliged to admit these new members into their society, there was no legal penalty for refusing to operate with them; they therefore associated with each other, and used every art to make their new assistants obnoxious to the king, upon whom they had been in a manner forced by the people. His former ministry flattered him in all his attachments to his German dominions, while the new had long clamoured against all continental connexions, as utterly incompatible with the interests of the nation. These two opinions carried to the extreme might have been erroneous; but the king was naturally led to side with those who favoured his own sentiments, and to reject those who opposed them. Mr. Pitt, therefore, after being a few months in office, was ordered to resign, by

his majesty's command, and his coadjutor, Mr. Legge, was displaced from being chancellor of the exchequer. This blow to his ambition was but of short continuance; the whole nation, almost to a man, seemed to rise up in his defence, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were reluctantly restored to their former employments, the one of secretary of state, the other of chancellor of the exchequer.

The consequences of the former ill-conducted counsels still seemed to continue in America. The generals sent over to manage the operations of the war loudly accused the timidity and delays of the natives, whose duty it was to unite in their own defence. The natives, on the other hand, as warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, and incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the supreme command there, had been for some time recalled, and replaced by lord Loudon ; and this nobleman also soon after returning to England, three commanders were put at the head of separate operations. General Amherst commanded that department, signed against the island of Cape Breton ; the other was consigned to general Abercrombie, against Crown-Point and Ticonderoga ; and the third still more to the southward, against Fort du Quesne, was commanded by brigadier-general Forbes.

Cape Breton, which had been taken from the French during the preceding war, had been restored at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was not till the English had been put in possession of that island, that they began to perceive its advantageous situation, and the convenience of its harbour for annoying the British trade with impunity. It was also a convenient port for carrying on their fishery, a branch of commerce of the utmost benefit to that nation. The wresting it, therefore, once more from the hands of the French, was a measure ar-

dently desired by the whole nation. The fortress of Louisbourg, by which it was defended, had been strengthened by the assistance of art, and was still better defended from the nature of its situation. The garrison also was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to oppose a landing. An account of the operations of the siege can give but little pleasure in abridgement; be it sufficient to say, that the English surmounted every obstacle with great intrepidity. Their former timidity and irresolution seemed to vanish, their natural courage and confidence returned, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The fortifications were soon after demolished, and rendered unfit for future protection.

The expedition to Fort du Quesne was equally successful: but that against Crown Point was once more defeated. This was now the second time that the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds by which nature had secured the French possessions in that part of the world. Braddock fell in the attempt, a martyr to his impetuosity; too much caution was equally injurious to his successor. Abercrombie spent much time in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give him a severe reception. As he approached Ticonderoga, he found them deeply entrenched at the foot of the fort, and still farther secured by fallen trees, with their branches pointing against him. These difficulties the English ardour attempted to surmount; but as the enemy, being secured themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English force, however, was still superior; and it was supposed that, when the artillery arrived, something more successful might be performed; but the general

felt too sensibly the terrors of the late defeat to remain in the neighbourhood of a triumphant enemy. He withdrew his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George.

But though in this respect the English arms were unsuccessful, yet upon the whole the campaign was greatly in their favour. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from their colonies the terror of the incursions of the Indians, while it interrupted that correspondence which ran along a chain of forts with which the French had environed the English settlements in America. This, therefore, promised a fortunate campaign the next year, and vigorous measures were taken to ensure success.

A. D. Accordingly, on the opening of the following 1759. year, the ministry, sensible that a single effort, carried on in such an extensive country, could never reduce the enemy, resolved to attack them in several parts of their empire at once. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions driven forward, against three different parts of North America at the same time. General Amherst, the commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army. General Wolfe was at the opposite quarter to enter the river St. Laurence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux and sir William Johnson were to attempt a French fort near the cataracts of Niagara.

The last-named expedition was the first that succeeded. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and served to command all the communication between the northern and western French settlements. The siege was begun with vigour, and promised an easy conquest; but general Prideaux was killed in the

trenches, by the bursting of a mortar; so that the whole command of the expedition devolved upon general Johnson, who omitted nothing to push forward the vigorous operations of his predecessor, to which also he added his own popularity with the soldiers under him. A body of French troops, who were sensible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it, but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity and success; for in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garrison soon after, perceiving the fate of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. The success of general Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable; upon arriving at the destined place, he found the forts both of Crown Point and Ticonderoga deserted and destroyed.

There now, therefore, remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North America into the possession of the English; and this was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handsomely built, populous, and flourishing. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition; the siege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, of whom the nation had great expectations. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-four, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly at the siege of Louisbourg, a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him; who, without being indebted to family or connexions, had raised himself by merit to his present command.

The war in this part of the world had been hitherto carried on with extreme barbarity; and retaliating murders were continued, without any one's knowing who first began. Wolfe, however, disdained to imitate an example that had been set him, even by some of his associate officers; he carried on the war with all the

spirit of humanity which it admits of. It is not our aim to enter into a minute detail of the siege of this city, which could at best only give amusement to a few : it will be sufficient to say, that when we consider the situation of the town on the side of a great river, the fortifications with which it was secured, the natural strength of the country, the great number of vessels and floating batteries the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous bodies of savages continually hovering round the English army, we must own there was such a combination of difficulties as might discourage and perplex the most resolute commander. The general himself seemed perfectly sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. After stating, in a letter to the ministry, the dangers that presented, "I know," said he, "that the affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures. But then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. At present the difficulties are so various, that I am at a loss how to determine." The only prospect of attempting the town with success was by landing a body of troops in the night below the town, who were to clamber up the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with sentinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground such as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time. All these difficulties were removed by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of the men. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and dislodged a small body of troops that defended a narrow path-way up the bank ; thus a few

mounting, the general drew the rest up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprised that the English had gained these heights, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle; and a furious encounter quickly began. This was one of the most desperate engagements during the war. The French general was slain; the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was most warm: as he stood conspicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a second ball, more fatal, pierced his breast; so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier that was next him. Now struggling in the agonies of death, and just expiring, he heard a voice cry, "They run!" upon which he seemed for a moment to revive, and asking who ran, was informed the French. Expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, and unable to gaze any longer, he sunk on the soldier's breast, and his last words were, "I die happy." Perhaps the loss of the English that day was greater than the conquest of Canada was advantageous. But it is the lot of mankind, only to know true merit on that dreadful occasion when they are going to lose it.

The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory. The French, indeed, in the following season, made a vigorous effort to retake the city; but by the resolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of an English fleet under the command of lord Colville, they were forced to abandon the enterprise. The whole

province was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, who obliged the French army to capitulate; and it has since remained annexed to the British empire. To these conquests, about the same time, was added the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe, by commodore Moore and general Hopson; an acquisition of great importance, but which was restored at the succeeding peace.

These successes in India and America were great, though achieved by no very expensive efforts; on the contrary, the efforts the English made in Europe, and the operations of their great ally the king of Prussia, were astonishing, yet produced no signal advantages. A defensive war in Germany was all that could be expected; and that he maintained against the united powers of the continent, with unexampled bravery. We left the French and Imperialists triumphing in repeated successes, and enjoying the fruits of an advantageous summer campaign. But, as if summer was not sufficient for the horrors of war, they now resolved to exert them even amidst the rigours of winter, and, in the depth of that season, sat down and formed the siege of Leipsic. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the interests of the king; and by one of those rapid marches, for which he was remarkable, he seemed with his army unexpectedly to rise up before the town. Such was the terror of his arms, that, even vanquished as he seemed, the French, though superior in numbers, raised the siege and retreated. He was resolved to pursue, and at length overtook them at a village called Rosbach, where he gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from destruction.

In the mean time, the Austrians in another part of the empire were victorious, and had taken the prince of Bevern, the king of Prussia's generalissimo, prisoner.

The king, having just fought a battle, again undertook a dreadful march of two hundred miles in the depth of winter, and came up with the Austrian army near Breslau. He there disposed his forces with his usual celerity and judgment, and obtained another victory, in which he took no less than fifteen thousand prisoners. Breslau, with a garrison of ten thousand men, surrendered soon after. These successes dispirited the enemy, and gave his distressed Hanoverian allies fresh hopes of being able to expel the French tooops from their territories.

Soon after the capitulation of Closter-Seven had been signed between the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Richelieu, both sides began to complain that the treaty was not strictly observed. The Hanoverians exclaimed against the rapacity of the French general, and the brutality of his soldiers. The French retorted the charge, accused them of insolence and insurrection, and resolved to bind them strictly to the term of their agreement, sensible of their own superiority. Treaties between nations are seldom observed any longer than interest or fear holds the union; and among nations that take every advantage, political faith is a term without meaning. The Hanoverians only wanted a pretext to take arms, and a general to head them. Both were soon found. The oppressions of the tax-gatherers, whom the French had appointed, were considered as so severe, that the army once more rose to vindicate their freedom, while Ferdinand, prince of Brunswick, put himself at their head.

Nothing could be more fortunate for the interests of the king of Prussia than this sudden insurrection of the Hanoverian forces. From this time he began to oppose the enemy upon more equal terms; he faced them on every side, often victorious, sometimes repulsed, but

ever formidable. Never was the art of war carried to such a pitch as by him, and, it must be added, its horrors also. In this war, Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter, great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time since the days of heroism were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity discovered. Armies were by the German discipline considered as composing one great machine, directed by one commander, and animated by a single will. From the commentary of these campaigns, succeeding generals will take their lessons of devastation, and improve upon the arts which increase human calamity.

England was all this time happily retired from the miseries which oppressed the rest of Europe; yet, from her natural military ardour, she seemed desirous of sharing those dangers of which she was only a spectator. This passion for sharing in a continental war was not less pleasing to the king of England, from his native attachments, than from a desire of revenge upon the plunderers of his country. As soon, therefore, as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, observed that the late successes of his ally in Germany had given a happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons concurred in his sentiments, and liberally granted supplies both for the service of the king of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in Hanover to act vigorously in conjunction with him.

From sending money over into Germany, the nation began to extend their benefits: and it was soon considered that men would be a more grateful supply. Mr.

Pitt, who had at first come into popularity and power by opposing such measures, was now prevailed on to enter into them with even greater ardour than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to the war by vigorous measures, the connexions with which he was obliged to co-operate, and perhaps the pleasure he found in pleasing the king, all together incited him eagerly to push forward a continental war. However, he only coincided with the general inclinations of the people at this time, who, allured by the noble efforts of their only ally, were unwilling to see him fall a sacrifice to the united ambition of his enemies.

In order to indulge this general inclination of assisting the king of Prussia, the duke of Marlborough was at first sent into Germany with a small body of British forces to join with prince Ferdinand, whose activity against the French began to be crowned with success. After some small successes gained by the allied army at Crévelt, the duke of Marlborough dying, his command devolved upon lord George Sackville, who was at that time a favourite with the English army. However, a misunderstanding arose between him and the commander-in-chief, which soon had an occasion of being displayed at the battle of Minden, fought shortly after. The cause of this secret disgust, on both sides, is not clearly known: it is thought that the extensive genius, and the inquisitive spirit, of the English general, were by no means agreeable to his superior in command, who hoped to reap some pecuniary advantages which the other was unwilling to permit. Be that as it will, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry ensued. Lord George, at the head of the British and Hanoverian

horse, was stationed at some distance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry giving ground, the prince thought that this would be a favourable opportunity to pour down the horse among them, and accordingly sent lord George orders to come on. These orders were but ill obeyed; and whether they were unintelligible, or contradictory, still remains a point for posterity to debate upon. It is certain that lord George shortly after was recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. The enemy, however, were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss, and, at length giving way, were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden. This victory was splendid; but laurels were the only advantage reaped from the field of battle.

After these victories, which were greatly magnified in England, it was supposed that one reinforcement more of British troops would terminate the war in favour of the allies; and a reinforcement was quickly sent. The British army in Germany now amounted to above thirty thousand men, and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate conquest. But these hopes soon vanished on finding victory and defeat successively following each other. The allies were worsted at Corbach, but retrieved their honour at Exdorf. A victory at Warburg followed shortly after, and another at Zierenburg; but they suffered a defeat at Camperdown; after which both sides went into winter-quarters. Thus the successes on either side might be considered as a compact, by which both engaged to lose much and gain little; for no advantages whatever followed from victory. The English at length began to open their eyes to their own interest, and found that they were waging

unequal war, and loading themselves with taxes, for conquests that they could neither preserve nor enjoy.

It must be confessed that the efforts of England at this time, in every quarter of the globe, were amazing, and the expense of her operations greater than had ever been disbursed by any nation before. The king of Prussia received a subsidy; a large body of English forces commanded the extensive peninsula of India; another army of twenty thousand men confirmed their conquests in North America; there were thirty thousand men employed in Germany, and several other bodies dispersed in the different garrisons in various parts of the world; but all these were nothing to the force maintained at sea, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on that element. The courage and the conduct of the English admirals had surpassed whatever had been read of in history; neither superior force, nor number, nor even the terrors of the tempest, could intimidate them. Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over an equal number of French ships in Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Bretagne, in the midst of a tempest, during the darkness of the night, and, what a seaman fears still more, upon a rocky shore.

Such was the glorious figure which Great Britain, at this time, exhibited to all the world. But while her arms prospered in every effort tending to the real interests of the nation, an event happened, which for a while obscured the splendor of her victories. On the twenty-fifth of October, the king, without having complained of any previous disorder, was found, by his domestics, expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that as the weather was fine he would take a walk into the gardens of

Kensington, where he then resided. In a few minutes after his return, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor. The noise of this bringing his attendants into the room, they lifted him into bed, where he desired, with a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be sent for ; but before she could reach the apartment he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect ; and afterwards the surgeons, upon opening him, discovered that the right ventricle of the heart was actually ruptured, and that a great quantity of blood was discharged through the aperture.

Oct. 25, George the Second died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign, lamented by his subjects, and in the midst of victory. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode of his death, and the precise time of its arrival, it was he. The universal enthusiasm of the people for conquest was now beginning to subside, and sober reason to take her turn in the administration of affairs. The factions which had been nursing during his long reign had not yet come to maturity, but threatened, with all their virulence, to afflict his successor. He was himself of no shining abilities ; and, while he was permitted to guide and assist his German dominions, he intrusted the care of Britain to his ministers at home. However, as we stand too near to be impartial judges of his merits or defects, let us state his character as delivered by two writers of opposite opinions.

“ On whatever side,” says his panegyrist, “ we look upon his character, we shall find ample matter for just and unsuspected praise. None of his predecessors on the throne of England lived to so great an age, or enjoyed longer felicity. His subjects were still improv-

ing under him, in commerce and arts; and his own œconomy set a prudent example to the nation, which, however, they did not follow. He was, in his temper, sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his conduct, made no change in his behaviour, which was generally guided by reason. He was plain and direct in his intentions, true to his word, steady in his favour and protection to his servants, not parting even with his ministers till compelled to it by the violence of faction. In short, through the whole of his life he appeared rather to live for the cultivation of useful virtues than splendid ones; and, satisfied with being good, left to others their unenvied greatness."

Such is the picture given by his friends; but there are others who reverse the medal. "As to the extent of his understanding, or the splendor of his virtue, we rather wish for opportunities of praise, than undertake the task ourselves. His public character was marked with a predilection for his native country; and to that he sacrificed all other considerations. He was not only unlearned himself, but he despised learning in others; and though genius might have flourished in his reign, yet he neither promoted it by his influence nor example. His frugality bordered upon avarice; and he hoarded not for his subjects, but for himself. He was remarkable for no one great virtue, and was known to practise several of the meaner vices." Which of these two characters is true, or whether they may not in part be both so, I will not pretend to decide. If his favourers are numerous, so are those who oppose them:—let posterity therefore decide the contest.

CHAPTER I.

Of Dr. Coote's Continuation.

IN the progressive history of this country, the reader has been conducted through eventful periods, occasionally interested by striking scenes, and gratified with a multiplicity of varied information. He has observed, in the first instance, a race of painted barbarians, fierce and licentious, less controlled by their chiefs than by an arbitrary priesthood. He has witnessed the arrival of disciplined armies on the shore of South-Britain, and the gradual subjection of the rude natives to the sway of Roman invaders. He has noticed the introduction of arts and civilisation among the insular tribes, and the formation of a regular but despotic government, which subsisted until the convulsions of the empire precluded a due attention to its remote dependencies. In this period the light of Christianity shone upon the islanders, and contributed to the improvement of their morals and manners.

The decline of British valor, and the interval of anarchy which followed the final departure of the Romans from the island, did not prevent a spirited opposition to the progress of the Saxon arms: but the energy of the Gothic warriors ultimately triumphed. The Britons who survived the fury of slaughter, and who did not retire into the mountainous parts of the island, became the slaves of ferocious pagans; and new forms of government, borrowed from the Gothic system, were established by the victorious chieftains.

Although the heptarchy was disgraced by frequent wars, the names of some respectable statesmen and le-

gislators appear in the list of it's princes ; and, after the union of the seven kingdoms, more illustrious characters pass in review before us. The name of Alfred would confer celebrity on any period.

The general freedom of our government may be traced to the Saxon times. The basis of our present constitution then existed, though the superstructure has been occasionally altered.

After the decisive victory of the Normans over the degenerate Anglo-Saxons, the rigors of the feudal system were extended over the realm, and an arbitrary government prevailed over law and liberty. But the policy of the first Henry, while his vigor over-awed the nobles, induced him to court the people by a restoration of many of the Saxon laws ; and his grandson, equally politic and more conciliatory, gratified the English with similar concessions.

A reign deformed by tyranny was distinguished by the grant of Magna Charta. This celebrated charter chiefly favored the barons : but it's benefits were also felt by the middle class, and by the plebeian part of the community.

The increase of trade in the Anglo-Norman times, by augmenting the importance of the people, led to the incorporation of boroughs, and to a diminution of aristocratic power ; and the address of Edward the First, and his reform of the jurisprudence of the realm, rendered the balance still less preponderative in favour of the nobility. But the regular formation of a representative house of commons in the preceding reign, tended more particularly to elevate the people. Under the third Edward, this assembly boldly asserted the right of impeachment and other privileges ; and, in several succeeding reigns, it gradually rose in weight and influence.

The government of Henry the Seventh was rigid, but beneficial. He restored order after the confusions of intestine war ; humbled the nobility ; encouraged peace, industry, and commerce. The horrible tyranny of his son seemed to overwhelm liberty ; but it's forms were still preserved ; and his caprice, rather than his good sense, promoted the reformation of religion.

To the judgement and vigor of Elizabeth, the honor of completing the Reformation is due. Learning and the arts also prospered under her sway : commerce was widely extended ; and England exhibited strong features of improvement.

The progress of free inquiry having exposed the abuses of the prerogative, and developed the true origin of power, the high notions of royalty entertained by the first James were ridiculed by the public, and counteracted by the senate. The same sentiments, when enforced by Charles, who was more practically arbitrary than his father, were assailed by systematic opposition, which shook the foundations of the monarchy. Both parties rushing into a war, the constitution was subverted by the prevalence of the parliamentary faction ; and republican tyranny and presbyterian fanaticism darkened the fair face of the country. An excluded prince then re-appeared, and was, for a time, highly popular : but his want of honor and of morality presented a pernicious example to the people whose constitution he restored. The folly of the catholic James was equal to his bigotry and arrogance ; but we are the less disposed to censure him with acrimony, because his conduct furnished an admirable opportunity for the full recovery and even improvement of the constitution.

Under the third William, liberty maintained it's ground, and religious toleration was established.

While Anne swayed the sceptre, the nation flourished both in arts and in arms, in philosophy and in elegant literature.

The accession of the house of Hanover was expected to be favourable to freedom, as only on this basis was the crown assigned to that family. The septennial act, however, was an irregular and unconstitutional measure; but the blame of its introduction is less imputable to George the First than to the Whigs, who held him in their trammels, and who, when they have been in power, have too frequently disregarded their professed principles. His son also threw himself into the arms of the same party, but suffered the heir of the crown (our present monarch) to be instructed and guided by Tories.

Reign of GEORGE III.

A. D. 1760—1763.

IN consequence of the decease of George the Second, the throne was filled by his grandson of the same name, who was the eldest son of Frederic Louis, prince of Wales, by the princess of Saxe-Gotha. The new king was in the twenty-third year of his age; had a pleasing open countenance; was regular in his deportment; and seemed to be inspired with a sense of religion, morality, and virtue. Although it was supposed, from the confined mode of his education, that he was not profoundly conversant in politics, or sufficiently acquainted with the true nature of the English constitution, the acclamations of his subjects were loud and general; and the public regret for the loss of his

predecessor was soon absorbed in the vivacity of exultation.

The Tories, long discountenanced, felt a more lively joy on this occasion than their political adversaries. They knew that their youthful sovereign was warmly attached to the earl of Bute, whose principles coincided with the sentiments of their party; and they confidently hoped that this nobleman would preside in the administration, and rescue them from discouragement and depression. But they were not immediately gratified; for the earl apprehended that a precipitate change would excite strong disgust, and therefore resolved to wait until the popular passion for victory and conquest should be cooled by the enormous burthens arising from the continuance of the war.

The two parties forbore the asperity of contest in the first parliamentary session of this reign. The union and harmony mentioned by the king in his speech, in which he flattered the national vanity by glorying in the name of Briton, apparently prevailed both in the senate and the nation. But, from the spirit of the times, and the latent animosities of faction, this calm seemed to presage a storm.

The most memorable act of the session was that which A. D. related to the twelve judges, whose commissions 1761. were not supposed to extend beyond the life of the royal grantor. To secure their independence, and thus promote the uprightness and purity of their decisions, it was ordained that they should continue in office notwithstanding the death of the sovereign, and that their salaries should be fully secured. This regulation was both judicious and liberal; and, being the spontaneous act of the king, it entitled him to general praise.

When ample supplies had been granted by the com-

mons, and a pension voted to their venerable speaker Onslow, the parliament was dissolved. Although the session had been tranquil, the people murmured at the supposed influence of the earl of Bute: a clamor arose against him among the lower classes, on account of a new duty imposed upon malt liquor; and the arrangements for the militia produced a riot at Hexham, in which many lives were lost. Not discouraged by the earl's unpopularity, the king complied with his advice for the removal of Mr. Legge from the chancellorship of the exchequer, and the appointment of the able but versatile Charles Townshend to the post of secretary at war; and bribed the earl of Holderness to resign to the favored peer the office of secretary of state for the northern department. These changes were not very pleasing to Mr. Pitt; but, as this great minister was still allowed to direct the concerns of the war, he was not so far disgusted as to relinquish his employment.

The military operations of this period were not of extraordinary moment. The allies were constrained to raise the siege of Cassel; but they were less unfortunate in an engagement which occurred near the Lippe. The French, having attacked the marquis of Granby at Kirch-Denckern, were repelled by the valor of the English and Germans; and, the next day, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy in point of number, obtained the honors of victory. The king of Prussia, unwilling to risque a battle, secured his main army against the assaults of the foe; but he lost two of his most considerable towns.

The French were alarmed in the spring by a descent upon their coast. A fleet conducted by Keppel, and an army commanded by Hodgson, approached the coast of Bretagne, and menaced Belle-isle. The conquest was not so easy as the invaders expected to find it. The

chief town was defended with spirit, and the citadel was long maintained against repeated attacks. The enemy, however, at length capitulated; and a sterile rock was the fruit of the expedition.

The more valuable West-Indian island of Dominica was reduced with less difficulty. Lord Rollo disembarked with a small force, stormed the entrenchments near Roseau, and compelled the colonists to submit to his sovereign.

In India, the power of the French had been nearly subverted (as was stated, though prematurely, in the history of the last reign) by the conquest of Pondicheri. Mahie was soon after taken by the English; who also gave a farther check to the French by assisting in the defeat of the Mogul. This prince having invaded Bengal, major Carnac joined Cossim, whom the India company had elevated to the throne of the deposed Jaffier Ali Khan; and the new nabob, styled viceroy to the Mogul, triumphed over his nominal master.

The French had so severely suffered by the war, that the nation earnestly wished for peace; and the court seemed desirous of a speedy close of hostilities. Louis having therefore intimated to his confederates that a negotiation was highly expedient, it was agreed that a congress should take place at Augsburg. To the British court he made such overtures as produced a compliant answer; and Mr. Stanley was commissioned to treat at Versailles, while M. de Bussy acted as a negotiator at Westminster.

The insincerity of the French monarch soon appeared. His grand aim was to seduce Charles the Third, the new sovereign of Spain, from his neutrality, by showing the necessity of checking the British power in America, which might eventually endanger the Spanish colonies. With this view, proposals favorable to Great-Britain.

were made by Bussy, that his catholic majesty might be alarmed, and endeavour to obstruct the conclusion of peace; and a memorial was delivered, suggesting the propriety of adjusting, at the same time, several disputed points between Britain and Spain. This insidious attempt to implicate the interest of a neutral power in the discussion, excited the indignation of Mr. Pitt; and a subsequent proposition from the French envoy, adverse to the claims of the king of Prussia, drew warm remonstrances from the English secretary. By inveighing against the intractability of the British minister and the domineering spirit of the court, and inculcating the expediency of a strict union at such an alarming crisis, Louis at length prevailed on the Spanish potentate to enter into a close alliance. A treaty was privately signed (on the 15th of August) by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain; and, as it provided for an intimate conjunction of interest among the princes of the house of Bourbon, it received the appellation of "the family compact."

Before the adjustment of this treaty, Mr. Pitt had given instructions to the earl of Bristol, to complain to the cabinet of Madrid of the unwarrantable conduct of the French negotiator, and to request a disavowal of all authority from that court for the presentation of the offensive memorial. Wall, the Spanish minister, denied that there was any impropriety in the conduct of France, and affirmed that such an interference tended rather to promote than to obstruct peace. Bussy and Stanley, in the mean time did not desist from treating; but, as soon as Mr. Pitt had procured intelligence (obscure indeed and imperfect) of the conclusion and nature of the Bourbon compact, he persuaded the king to order a discontinuance of the negotiation.

Convinced of the hostile views of Spain, he now pro-

posed that her intended aggression should be anticipated by an immediate blow, directed against her returning *flota*. On the mention of this bold scheme, great astonishment appeared in the council. The majority voted against it as a rash step, repugnant to justice, and inconsistent with national honour and dignity. Disgusted at this want of spirit, the secretary haughtily declared, that "he would not remain responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide." He therefore (on the 5th of October) resigned the seals, and accepted a pension. The king was not displeased at the voluntary retreat of a minister whom he had not found sufficiently conciliating or courtly, and by whose commanding demeanor he seems to have been overawed.

While this important resignation continued to occupy the attention of the people, his majesty, who had lately gratified them by a matrimonial union with the sister of the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and had been crowned with this princess in the usual style of pomp and magnificence, prepared to meet the new parliament. He lamented the failure of the negotiation; promised vigorous exertions; requested copious supplies; and added, that "there never was a situation in which unanimity, firmness, and dispatch, were more necessary for the safety, honor, and true interest of Great-Britain."

The cabinet, unwilling to precipitate a rupture with Spain, suffered the earl of Bristol to remain at Madrid, where he was amused with insincere professions of neutrality. But, when the French openly spoke of the new alliance, and of the expected co-operation of the Spaniards, even the earl of Bute, now the leader of the ministerial phalanx, would not recommend a passive forbearance. He directed the ambassador to request

an immediate communication of the whole, or the most material parts, of the family compact, and (on the refusal of this demand) to insist upon an explicit disclosure of the intentions of his catholic majesty. No satisfaction being given, the British monarch (on A. D. the 4th of January) declared war against Spain. 1762.

The two houses readily supported the king in the new war; and the commons voted a million to enable him to assist the Portuguese, who, in defiance of decency and of justice, were threatened with an invasion from Spain, because their court refused to join the house of Bourbon against Great-Britain.

This session was less tranquil than the preceding one; but we have little knowledge of the debates with which it was attended. Before its close, the duke of Newcastle, disgusted at the ascendancy of the earl of Bute, and at the discontinuance of the subsidiary grant to the king of Prussia, resigned his employment; and the earl, pleased at the retreat of the veteran minister, accepted the office of first commissioner of the treasury. From the year 1717, the duke had scarcely been out of office, although his talents or judgement did not qualify him for a high post. He was considered as the head of the Whig party, and of that aristocratic combination which the earl wished to weaken or dissolve, as it had too long encroached on the liberty of the sovereign.

It was about this time that the story of the Cocklane ghost arose, dividing the public attention with the factions of the cabinet and the Spanish war. It imposed on the credulity of many; but no person of sound sense could entertain even a momentary belief of it. The contrivers of this imposture were punished for having conspired to ruin an innocent man, whom the pretended spirit was tutored to accuse of murder.

During the session, intelligence of a successful enter

prise arrived. An expedition had been projected by Mr. Pitt for the addition of Martinique to the British conquests; and the officers selected for this service, in the naval and military departments, were Rodney and Moncton, who acted with spirit and concert. The island was strong, both by art and nature, and the governor threatened an obstinate resistance; but Fort-Royal and its out-works were reduced within eleven days, and St. Pierre was surrendered at the desire of the terrified inhabitants. The island of St. Lucia was soon after taken; as were also Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

In the Spanish part of the West-Indies, success likewise attended the British arms. A considerable fleet, and a respectable land-force, were sent to Cuba under the command of sir George Pococke and the earl of Albemarle, who were ordered to use every effort for the reduction of the Havannah, as it was obvious that the loss of such a settlement would greatly impair the colonial resources and power of the Spaniards. The Moro, the chief fortress which defended that town, was attacked with courage, and besieged with perseverance. The difficulties and dangers of the enterprise seemed to dispirit even the most sanguine: but, when a breach had been made in one of the bastions, an assault was ordered by the general. A multitude of the enemy fell, bravely fighting; others were drowned in attempting an escape to the town; and the castle was seized by the exulting invaders. From another fort, and from the city, the spaniards now directed their fire against the Moro; and the governor still flattered himself with the hope of preserving the Havannah. His confidence, however, declined when a new range of batteries thundered upon the place. He sent an officer, announcing a readiness to negotiate; and a capitulation was signed

(in the tenth week after the landing of the English), providing for the surrender of the town and a considerable district, of nine ships of the line, and an abundance of arms and stores, with silver and merchandise estimated at two millions sterling.

This memorable success fully convinced the Spaniards of the great peril to which they were exposed by a war with Great Britain. The court felt a violent panic: the merchants trembled for their shipping; and the people recalled to their minds a remark which had almost passed into a proverb: "Peace with England, and war with all the world."

The result of the invasion of Portugal did not tend to console the Spanish monarch, or compensate his colonial misfortunes. At first, indeed, his troops made some progress in the reduction of towns; but the natives, with the aid of a British army, at length compelled them to retreat with loss.

The French were not more fortunate in Germany than their allies were in Portugal. Prince Ferdinand attacked them at Grabenstein, near the Dymel; quickly threw them into confusion; slew many, and captured a greater number. It ought not to be omitted, that, on this occasion, and in a subsequent conflict near Homburg, the marquis of Granby and his gallant countrymen highly distinguished themselves. The French gained an advantage near Rodheim; and, in the affair of the Brucker-Muhl, they made considerable havock among their antagonists; but their own loss was more severe. In the autumn, the siege of Cassel was again undertaken; and the French, who had been driven from Gottingen in the summer, were now dislodged from the capital of Hesse.

Fortune smiled upon the king of Prussia in this campaign. He profited by the death of the czarina Eliza-

beth, whose successor, Peter III., not content with agreeing to a treaty of peace, became the ally of the Prussians, and ordered his troops to assist in the expulsion of the Austrians from Silesia. But the new emperor, having acted with a precipitate spirit of reform, excited a degree of odium which stimulated the ambition of his wife to take arms against him; and, being quickly dethroned, he was not suffered to linger in confinement. Catharine, the bold conspirator, was declared empress, although she had no pretensions to the diadem; and, as she affected to disapprove the whole system of her husband, the king apprehended that she would co-operate with his Austrian enemies. She assured him, however, that he might depend on her forbearance, though she would not agree to assist him. He and his brother Henry now acted with spirit in Silesia and Saxony. The strong town of Schweidnitz was recovered; and the enemy suffered a defeat near Freyberg.

During these hostilities, peace was in a train of adjustment. The prime minister of Britain repined at the continuance of the war; and, having engaged the mediation of the court of Turin, sent the duke of Bedford to negotiate in France, while he and the earl of Egremont, the successor of Mr. Pitt, treated with the duke de Nivernois in England. The disputes which occurred in the negociation were not very violent, as the English ministers were willing to concede more than the French or Spaniards could expect.

While the cabinet thus gratified the enemy, a new conquest was achieved, more honorable than beneficial to this country, as it served only to swell the list of re-stitutions. Brigadier Draper and rear-admiral Cornish sailed to Luçon; and, when a small force had effected a landing, preparations were made for the siege of Manilla, the capital of that island, and the seat of govern-

ment for the Philippines. The Spaniards would very soon have been obliged to surrender the town; but the courage and ferocity of the barbarian natives of the island delayed it's reduction. Yet even this addition to the strength of the garrison did not protract the siege beyond twelve days. The fortifications being then reduced to a ruinous state, the brigadier gave directions for an assault; and the town was taken with scarcely any loss of lives. The governor retired into the citadel; but, instead of defending it, he and the magistrates implored mercy, and consented to give four millions of dollars (900,000 pounds sterling), if the conquerors would save the city from destruction, and not seize the property of the inhabitants. It was also agreed, that the whole number of the Philippine isles should be transferred from the Spanish dominions to that of Great-Britain; but the promised ransom was not paid; and the islands soon reverted to their former possessors.

Soon after the fruitless reduction of the Philippines, but long before the intelligence of the exploit could reach Europe, preliminary articles of pacification were signed (on the 3d of November); and all the arts of persuasion, intrigue, and corruption, were exerted to procure from the parliament an approbation of the terms. In this point the court met with the desired success. The earl of Bute defended the articles, and boasted of his concern in the treaty; adding, that it would be a great consolation to him, in the last moments of his life, to reflect that he had been instrumental in restoring peace. The earl of Halifax, one of the secretaries of state, more ably supported the same side of the question; and the peers, without any calculation of the votes, approved the preliminaries. The chief speakers on this subject in the other house, were Mr. Henry Fox and Mr. Pitt. The former, who was paymaster of the army, maintained,

that the ceded territories in North-America would indemnify the British nation for the charges of the war, and that it was expedient to make considerable restitutions, with a view of giving to the peace that permanence which the disgust and resentment of the enemy would not otherwise allow. Mr. Pitt condemned the stipulations with his usual eloquence. To retain so little, he said, after such a series of conquests, was to encourage the insolence of our adversaries, and to sow the seeds of a new war. They would soon recover from the effects of the late hostilities, instead of being paralysed by the shock: far from being humbled, they would become more daring and arrogant: trusting to our weakness in negotiation, they would despise our strength in conflict.—After a spirited debate, the house, by an extraordinary majority (319 to 65), voted an address of thanks for the progress which had been made in the salutary work of peace.

Feb. 10, When the preliminaries had been framed into 1763. a definitive treaty at Paris, the chief stipulations were those which follow. The whole province of Canada, and the island of Cape-Breton, were ceded to Great-Britain, in whose favour the boundaries of Louisiana were more accurately fixed: the same power was permitted to keep possession of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago, on condition that Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, should be restored to France: Belle-isle in Europe, and Gorre in Africa (Senegal being retained by the English), were given up to the French, who were also allowed to re-possess their Asiatic settlements. It was farther agreed, that his Britannic majesty should re-enjoy the sovereignty of Minorca, and receive both East and West Florida in exchange for the territory which his arms had reduced in Cuba. This treaty was quickly succeeded by that

of Hubertsburg, which ordered a reciprocal restitution of conquests between Prussia on the one hand, and Austria and Saxony on the other.

War is so serious an evil, and so pregnant with miseries of the worst complexion, that every humane prince will endeavour to put a speedy end to its ravages. But his humanity ought to be accompanied with prudence and discretion; for the manifestation of an eager desire of peace only serves to invite the negotiatory encroachments of the enemy, who, trusting to the ready acquiescence of the pacific prince or minister, will avoid such concessions as would otherwise have been offered, and insist upon much more advantageous terms than the incidents of the war can justify; threatening, in case of non-compliance, a vigorous renewal of hostilities. An acceptance of such terms might eventually be injurious to the cause of humanity, as it would tend to render the peace less permanent, by leaving the foe in a better condition to violate the agreement. In the present case there was little (perhaps no) risque of the protraction of the war by the French and Spaniards, if the British court had been less liberal in its surrenders, less disposed to relinquish the fruits of persevering activity and patriotic valor.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1763—1767.

THE factions which, as our historic predecessor observes, had been for many years nursing, seemed now ready to harass and afflict the young monarch. The powerful

and opulent Whig families which had long endeavoured to give law to the throne, and had in various instances accomplished their ambitious aims, could not tamely submit to the sway of the Scottish favorite, or patiently acquiesce in the predominance of the Tories. They inveighed against the peace which the latter had concluded; accused them of having betrayed the honor and sacrificed the interest of the nation; and charged the earl of Bute, in particular, with having infused arbitrary notions and unconstitutional principles into the mind of his royal patron.

Disgusted at their ill success on the discussion of the preliminaries, they now held meetings for the purpose of strengthening their party, and cementing their confederacy; and, when they had made new arrangements, and bound themselves by promises of strict and vigorous concert, they formed confident hopes of driving the obnoxious peer from the helm. As he employed writers to panegyrisé and emblazon his administration, they also made use of the press to support their cause; and their mercenaries were more successful in the contest than those whom he retained in his service. They reviled his government, depreciated his abilities, and aspersed his private character, with great acrimony and rancor. He seemed to bear these attacks with coolness; but they certainly made some impression upon his mind, and embittered the joys of power and patronage.

An opportunity of harassing the minister was afforded by a new loan and a consequent tax. The terms of the loan were stigmatised as not sufficiently prudent or economical; and a duty on cider, involving an extension of the odious system of excise to the gentry, was loudly condemned as an invasion of constitutional rights, and as a step to a series of similar encroachments. Strong appeals were made to the people, who

were taught to believe that their liberties were in danger; and an extraordinary ferment was excited throughout the realm. The two parties tried their strength in repeated divisions: even the peers, in repugnance to an established custom respecting money-bills, divided on the occasion. The bill, however, was not relinquished by its framers, who carried it triumphantly through both houses.

The earl's courage and firmness, in thus resisting the popular torrent, seemed to indicate that he would not easily be induced to retreat from power. He was not, however, so pleased with his situation, as to wish cordially for the liberty of retaining it. He found himself unable to produce union in the cabinet: he was menaced with a continuance of strong opposition and virulent abuse from the Whig party; and, being satisfied with the success of his administration, as far as peace was concerned, he was willing to leave to others the burthen of ministerial labors. Thus circumstanced, he (on the 8th of April) resigned his office, in which he was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville.

The earl of Bute was not an eloquent orator, an able minister, or a truly wise man. Arbitrary in his notions, inflexible in his prejudices, and reserved in his manners, he was ill calculated for the station of prime minister in any country, but more particularly unfit to be the ruler of a free nation.

Mr. Grenville was soon involved in a contest which excited universal attention. The speech which he and his chief associates framed for the king at the prorogation, was attacked with great asperity, and with indecorous vehemence (in the 45th number of the *North-Briton*), by John Wilkes, a man of wit and talents, but debauched, unprincipled, and profligate. Incensed at this freedom, the court resolved to punish the daring

calumniator of majesty. The earl of Halifax issued a general warrant against the authors, printers, and publishers, of the scurrilous libel; and, among others, Wilkes was taken into custody: his papers were sealed up; he was examined by the two secretaries of state, and sent to the Tower. When he had procured a writ of *habeas corpus*, the case was debated in the court of Common-Pleas; and the chief justice Pratt, with the concurrence of the other judges, declared that the offence in question could not destroy the privilege which the accused person derived from being a member of parliament. He was therefore discharged, to the great joy of the populace, who, not aware of his interested motives, hailed him as a spirited opposer of an arbitrary cabinet, and a true friend of his country.

This affair, during the recess of parliament, tended to cherish the animosities of party. Other incidents, connected with British concerns, in the mean time occurred, demanding the notice of an historian. In India, disturbances arose from the encroachments of the servants of the company, and from the desire of the nabob Cossim to shake off a yoke which he found oppressive. Not satisfied with the indulgences which they had already obtained, the English claimed additional favors, and aimed at the reduction of that prince to a state of complete vassalage. Vansittart, however, was not so ambitious or unreasonable as the generality of his countrymen; and he agreed to a treaty which tended to maintain the authority of Cossim. The council of Calcutta refused to ratify this agreement, and accused the governor of having been bribed to sign it. The nabob, being desired to desist from enforcing it, opposed what he deemed an unwarrantable requisition. Both parties now made preparations for hostility: Patna was taken by a *coup de main*, but was speedily recovered by the troops

of Cossim, who also defeated the English in their retreat toward Calcutta. The treacherous murder of some individuals who had been deputed to treat with the offended prince, so incensed the council against him, that a resolution was formed for his dethronement. Major Adams, a gallant and able officer,—not discouraged by the great superiority of the nabob's forces in point of number, or by that improvement of their tactics which rendered them more formidable than they were when they opposed Clive,—advanced with alacrity to meet them, triumphed in the battle of Ballaserai, forced their entrenchments near Mourshedabad, routed them in another engagement, and, within four months, completed the conquest of Bengal. But the council, not thinking it prudent to assume the absolute sovereignty of the country, permitted Jaffier Ali Khan to re-ascend the throne.

War also raged in North-America, in the course of this year: but the foes of Great-Britain, in that part of the world, were less disciplined and civilised than her enemies in Asia. Alarmed at the augmentation of her colonial power, experiencing some encroachments from the provincials, and dreading others, the savages rushed into the back settlements, ravaged the country, murdered many of the planters and traders, and overpowered the garrisons of the inferior forts between Pittsburgh and the lake Erie. Captain Dalyell having attacked them, they slew him, and compelled his men to retire to a neighbouring fort. Colonel Bouquet checked them in several conflicts, though they sometimes nearly defeated him. They continued this desultory war till sir William Johnson, who was distinguished by his extraordinary influence over their tribes, persuaded them to agree to a peace.

Dissension still prevailed in England, and faction

seemed to gain strength. Wilkes took every opportunity of inflaming the minds of the people, and openly defied the resentment of the ministry. On the death of the earl of Egremont, the weakness and inefficiency of the cabinet became so evident, that the earl of Bute requested Mr. Pitt to resume his ministerial station : but the terms on which the popular senator insisted were not so agreeable to the court, as to produce his reinstatement. The king now accepted the promised aid and interest of the duke of Bedford, whom he declared president of the council, while the earl of Sandwich was appointed secretary of state.

As soon as the parliament re-assembled, the delinquency of Wilkes was taken into consideration. The obnoxious paper was pronounced a seditious libel, and ordered to be committed to the flames with the usual forms of publicity. A motion was then made, intimating that parliamentary privilege did not extend to the case of a libel of that description. The advocates for the rights of the two houses resisted this proposition, as too courtly and servile ; and it was contended, that it was unnecessary and improper to interfere with the courts of judicature, to which the cognisance of such an offence belonged. It was observed, in reply, that no privilege ought to operate as a protection for crimes ; that a seditious publication might be more injurious than some of those offences which were allowed to supersede the privilege of parliament ; and that it behoved each house to testify a strong abhorrence of such guilt. This proposition received the assent of the majority ; and, when the burning of the North-Briton had produced a riot in the metropolis, both houses concurred in a vote of censure against all who were concerned in A.D. the disturbance. The expulsion of Wilkes from 1764. the house of commons was afterwards voted,

while he was absent from the kingdom. He was tried by the judges of the King's-Bench for the libellous paper, and also for having printed (though not published) an Essay on Woman, which disgusted and shocked even profligate readers by its obscenity and impiety. Being convicted, and not appearing when summoned, he was outlawed: but he affected to disregard this stigma, and to glory in suffering for the public good.

A warm debate arose from the proposal of one of the members of opposition, for voting general warrants to be unlawful, in the case of supposed libellous guilt. It was affirmed by the courtiers, that the practice had been followed for a century past, and had not been found productive of any injurious consequences to the public; and that the commons had no right to declare the law, but ought to leave the point to the determination of the judges, or bring forward a regular bill upon the subject. Mr. Pitt, however, and other speakers, argued, that nothing but great public danger could justify a practice which, if left to the discretion of the ministry to be used in ordinary cases, like that of a libel, might become subversive of the freedom and security of the subject. The house, by an adjournment of the discussion, evaded the decision of the point.

This session was remarkable for the first display of an impolitic system, pregnant with very serious and extensive mischief. To the imposition of new duties upon the commerce with North-America, the objections of the public or of the colonists were not so strong as those which were offered to the intention, at the same time announced, of requiring stamp-duties from the provincials. This intimation was resented as a menace; and, when coupled with some regulations which had been so strictly enforced by the officers of revenue as nearly to annihilate the lucrative clandestine trade between the

British and Spanish colonies, it excited strong disgust and loud clamors.

The object of the government was to derive from the colonies, not merely a sufficient revenue for defraying the ordinary expence of the peace-establishment of the different provinces, but also an annual sum for the purpose of relieving Great-Britain from the heavy burthen of debt contracted for the defence of those dominions. This, certainly, was not an unreasonable expectation ; but the mode in which the court resolved to gratify it was not the most eligible.

The taxation of the Americans by our parliament cannot be justified on principles strictly constitutional. As they were unrepresented in that assembly, the house of commons might be induced to treat them with little regard, and not be sufficiently moderate in ordaining taxes from which the imposers would be free. If it should be said, that the colonists would not have been liberal in their grants, it may be alleged, in answer, that, if governed with wisdom and equity, they might have been so far grateful as to give what they could spare, although they were not immediately influenced by the crown ; and it would have been much more prudent to accept their offers, though small, than to exact large contributions in a mode which militated against the rights of British subjects. It has been affirmed, that the objection to parliamentary taxation was a mere pretence for complaint, propagated by artful demagogues, who wished to excite such an opposition to the parent state as might lead to independence. But this seems to have been an after-thought. If an idea of revolt had really been entertained, in so early a stage of the dispute, by some men of ability and influence, they could have no hope of succeeding, unless British tyranny should be so glaringly exercised, as to arouse general discontent

and bitter resentment. The bulk of the people, in all probability, complained only in the hope of a redress of grievances, without any intention of shaking off the yoke of Great-Britain.

The threat of parliamentary taxation was at A. D. length enforced by statue. The minister moved 1765. fifty-five resolutions, exacting stamp-duties from the colonists; and the bill, being supported by a great majority, received (on the 22d of March) the royal assent. Its most eloquent supporter, in the lower house, was Mr. Charles Townshend, who asserted in strong terms the right of the parliament to tax every part of the dependencies of the crown. The chief speakers against the bill were general Conway and colonel Barré. Among the peers, no debates occurred in its progress.

Some have supposed, that this measure was entirely the result of Mr. Grenville's speculation: but it is more probable (says Mr. Burke) that his own ideas coincided with the instructions which he had received. The late minister had perhaps recommended to the king the taxation of the colonies; and his successor, being a more able financier, adjusted the particulars of the scheme.

Attentive to the improvement of the revenue, Mr. Grenville considerably checked, by new regulations, the prevalent practice of illicit trade; and, with that view, he proposed to his majesty the purchase of the regalities of the Isle of Man, a notorious receptacle for smugglers. The duke of Athol, for seventy thousand pounds and a pension, surrendered to the crown his rights over that island, the government of which thenceforward became more settled and regular.

A bill for a future regency was enacted in this session, in consequence of an illness which seized the king. He was empowered to appoint the queen, or any other per-

son of the royal family, to be regent of the kingdom, in case of his death, until his successor should complete the eighteenth year of his age; and the regent was to be assisted by a council, composed of the princes of the blood and the chief officers of state. In a debate upon the bill, it was asked, "Who are to be considered as persons of the royal family?" As the answer given to this question confined the expressions to the descendants of George the Second, the mother of his present majesty was excluded. The ministry disgusted the friends of the princess by this omission; and a majority of the members insisted on the introduction of her name.

The duke of Bedford, to whom even the first lord of the treasury was subservient, did not, on every occasion, consult the inclinations of his sovereign: indeed, he seemed to wish for an uncontrolled sway at court. Unwilling to submit to the arrogance of that nobleman, and reflecting on the unpopularity which the ministry had incurred, the king resolved upon a change. He desired the duke of Cumberland to solicit the good offices of Mr. Pitt, in framing a strong administration: but this application was unsuccessful, chiefly because the earl of Northumberland was proposed by the duke to be at the head of the treasury. His majesty then sent for Mr. Pitt, with whom, however, he could not agree. The marquis of Rockingham, a man of integrity, but of no great talents, now listened to the offers of the court, and became (on the 12th of July) the director of the treasury: the aged duke of Newcastle was appointed keeper of the privy seal; and the seals of the secretary's office were delivered to the duke of Grafton and general Conway.

Mr. Grenville had been bred to the law; from which study, without mingling sufficiently with the world to be well acquainted with men and manners, he passed into

the details of office. He had a good understanding, and was a diligent conductor of ordinary business: but he was not profoundly conversant in legislation, considered as a science, and was better qualified to fill the speaker's chair, to be a special pleader, or a chamber counsellor, than to act as a minister of state. His friend the duke of Bedford was more useful in the administration by his influence, than by his abilities or his official assiduity.

The stamp-act, as might have been foreseen, kindled a flame in North-America. The previous notice of it had produced a confederacy among the presbyterians in the different colonies; and every effort was made to excite discontent and indignation. When copies of the impolitic act arrived, the guns at Philadelphia were spiked, and the bells of the churches of Boston were muffled, so as to toll a melancholy knell. The assembly of Virginia voted a summary enforcement of chartered rights, particularly insisting on that of internal taxation, and reprobating every extrinsic attempt to levy imposts, as illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust. Before the bill passed, the assembly of Massachusetts had controverted the right claimed by the parliament of Great-Britain; and it was now proposed, that deputies from the legislative body of each province should meet at New-York, for the discussion of grievances. Out of thirteen colonies, nine sent delegates, who (in October) agreed to various resolutions, asserting their rights as subjects of the British crown, and condemning the stamp-act in strong terms. That statute was not suffered to take effect; and the people declared, that they would cease to import British manufactures.

While the Americans were thus embroiled with the mother-country, the inhabitants of British India regained the blessings of peace. Cossim, on the subjugation

of his territories, had retired across the Ganges into the province of Oude, accompanied by a military ruffian, whom he had employed to assassinate about two hundred prisoners, taken in the retreat from Patna. Shujah-ul-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, after some months of indecision, took arms in 1764 as the ally of Cossim; and the Mogul embraced the same cause. Major Hector Monro was attacked by the confederates at Buxar; but he defeated a very numerous force, and intimidated the weak Mogul into an humble submission. The nabob continuing the war, sir Robert Fletcher, early in the next year, put the hostile array to flight, and reduced the strong town of Allahabad. About the same time, Jaffier Ali Khan died, and was succeeded by Najem, his illegitimate son, who bribed the council to support him on the *musnud*. General Carnac now advanced against the troops of Shujah, and routed them at Calpi, before the Mahrattas could perform their promise of a junction. These intruders soon after appeared, but were easily driven across the Jumnah. The nabob, who had rejected every application from the English for the surrender of Cossim and his murderous friend Somers, permitted those objects of just odium to escape; and, having thus answered the demands of honor, personally solicited peace. Lord Clive, who was then governor of Bengal, granted (on the 16th of August) better terms than the vanquished prince expected. A small part of Oude being assigned to the Mogul, Shujah retained the rest of the province, on paying above 500,000 pounds to the company; while the descendant of the great Timour consented to aggrandise a body of mercantile colonists, by intrusting them with the collection and management of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Such was the fortunate issue of a war which had required extraordinary exertions to bring it to a

conclusion; and it was properly followed on the part of the governor by civil and military reforms.

In the mean time, the king and his ministers were harassed with doubt and perplexity. By the cabinet, the American concerns were referred to the privy council; and this assembly thought, that the parliament alone could properly discuss such an important subject. In the speech with which he opened the session, his A.D. majesty lamented that disorders and riots had 1766. occurred in the colonies, and hoped that the judgement and moderation of the two houses would conciliate the Americans, without a renunciation or a dereliction of the rights of the legislature. The motion for an address of thanks led to an interesting debate. Mr. Nugent condemned the opposition of the provincials to an easy and reasonable tax; yet he would agree to its abandonment, if they would solicit the repeal as a favor, and fully acknowledge the rights of the parliament. Mr. Pitt maintained, that the Americans, being the sons, not the bastards of England, were entitled to all the privileges of Britons; that taxation was no part of the governing or legislative power; that taxes were properly the grants of the commons alone; that, when the house ordered any grant, the members gave their own property and that of the people of Great-Britain; but that, if they should tax the Americans, they would grant to the crown the property of those whom they did not represent, of which they had no right to dispose; that only the colonial assemblies could justly tax the inhabitants of the provinces; and, therefore, that the stamp-act ought to be repealed. He allowed, at the same time, that the parliament might regulate the trade of the colonies, and exercise a general supremacy in point of government and legislation. General Conway concurred with Mr. Pitt in these constitutional sentiments. But Mr. Gren-

ville contended, that taxation was a part of the supreme power, and one branch of legislation; that it was exercised in England over those who were not represented; for instance, over the East-India company and some of the great manufacturing towns; and that, as Britain protected the Americans, they were bound to obey her laws. He was disgusted at their ingratitude, and at the endeavours of factious spirits in England to stimulate them to disobedience and sedition. Mr. Pitt replied to the last speaker, over whom he easily triumphed. After other speeches, the address was voted without a division of the house.

Petitions from British traders, as well as from some of the American assemblies, were afterwards considered; and the ministry prepared to comply with the chief object of those applications, by introducing a bill for the repeal of the stamp-act. A bill was previously enacted, asserting the right of parliament to make laws obligatory on the Americans in every case whatever. This act was too comprehensive, as it declared that branch of taxation to be lawful which the best judges of the constitution deemed unjust and illegal; whereas, the claim of right should have been confined to legislation and commercial imposts. This statute, therefore, displeased the colonists, and detracted from that joy which the act of repeal was calculated to excite. Lord Camden, while he approved the latter, strongly opposed the former act; but its advocates were very numerous. The bill of repeal was vehemently reprobated, as tending to encourage colonial arrogance and insubordination: but all the efforts of Mr. Grenville and his friends were exerted in vain.

The subject of general warrants being again debated, they were pronounced illegal by the commons. The excise upon cider was abrogated, so far as it affected

private individuals. The weavers who had been occasionally guilty of riots, were gratified with an act which restrained the importation of foreign silks.

These and other marks of attention to general and individual interest, did not secure the permanency of the Rockingham administration. After the loss of the brave and patriotic duke of Cumberland, who had died in the preceding autumn, the influence of the marquis visibly declined; but his majesty retained him in office to the end of the session. Even before the prorogation, the duke of Grafton, alleging a deficiency of strength and vigor in the cabinet, resigned his office, which was conferred on the duke of Richmond. Mr. Pitt, being again courted to enter into power, proposed the following appointments, in which his sovereign acquiesced. The duke of Grafton was declared (on the 2d of August) first commissioner of the treasury, and Mr. Charles Townshend chancellor of the exchequer: the great seal being given to lord Camden, the earl of Northington was constituted president of the council: the earl of Shelburne was authorised to act as secretary of state, with general Conway; and the new keeper of the privy seal was Mr. Pitt, who condescended to accept the title of earl of Chatham. The marquis of Granby (already master of the ordnance) was invested with the chief command of the army; and sir Charles Saunders was named first lord of the admiralty.

It was not supposed that the administration thus formed would long remain embodied. It was (says Mr. Burke) "a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement;" such a strange combination of "patriots and courtiers, king's friends, and republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and

open enemies;" that few hopes could be reasonably entertained of continued concert or compact durability.

At the time of these arrangements, the poor suffered so severely from the high price of the necessaries of life, that they not only murmured and complained, but disturbed the peace by riot and outrage. That the scanty stock might not be diminished, the privy council detained all vessels which were ready to sail with cargoes of corn. As this was an irregular proceeding, the ministers foresaw that it would be censured in parliament; and, therefore, they agreed to a bill for indemnifying the officers who had enforced the illegal proclamation; but they refused to include the privy counselors. The earl of Chatham affirmed, that the measure in question was an act of necessity, and was the exercise of a lawful prerogative for the benefit of the people; and that no indemnity was necessary. The lord chancellor also argued, that the necessity of the case legalised it, and that the king, as guardian of his subjects, was bound to attend to their interests, during the recess of parliament. Even if an illegal measure had been enforced in that interval, it was "at most (he added) a forty-days' tyranny." The chief-justice Mansfield distinguished himself on this occasion as an assertor of the principles of freedom. He maintained, that the power of dispensing with an act of parliament had justly been denied to the king by the bill of rights; that, although it seemed to have been exercised in this case for the public good, it was highly improper to represent it as lawful or constitutional; that the allowance of such a prerogative might lead to the destruction of liberty; and, therefore, that an act of indemnity was requisite, not only for the officers, but for the ministers who had recommended, or concurred in, the order.

Earl Temple, whom his brother-in-law Mr. Pitt had disgusted by not giving him an equal share in the formation of the ministry, also opposed the court on the discussion of this question; but the king was requested by both houses to prohibit the exportation of corn.

The part which the earl of Chatham and his friend took in this debate, tends to prove the occasional inconsistency even of men of penetrating minds. If they had not borne any office in the state, they would not, in all probability, have hazarded such assertions, or have made use of such arguments. But, in their eagerness to support a measure which they had found expedient, they seemed for a time insensible of the true spirit of the constitution, and of the mischievous consequences to which their reasoning might lead. If the king might suspend the operation of one act of the legislature, he might also dispense with others; and to suffer him to determine the necessity of such suspension, would be equivalent to a surrender of the whole body of the statutes to his discretion. The learned lord spoke lightly of the tyranny that might be exercised during the recess; but it ought to be considered, that much injury may be done in a short time; and no opening ought to be left for an invasion of the rights of the people. It must be allowed, that the king, in this case, provided for their benefit: but the manner in which the conduct of the council was defended, required parliamentary animadversion, that it might not become a precedent for multiplied infractions of law.

The earl, perceiving the insolidity of the fabric which he had raised, invited the duke of Bedford to join him. While his grace hesitated upon the terms, the sudden dismissal of a courtier produced the resignation of sir Charles Saunders, and of others whom the earl wished to retain in the service of the crown. The supply of

the vacancies neither pleased the duke, nor materially strengthened the ministry; and the earl, harassed by chagrin and the gout, was incapable of official application.

A. D. Some important incidents occurred in the 1767. session. Disputes having arisen at the India-house, an inquiry was made into the state of the company's affairs; and, after warm debates, it was resolved that an agreement beneficial to the public should be concluded with the directors. They were required, by an act, to pay eight hundred thousand pounds in two years, for the privilege of retaining the territories which they had gradually acquired. A high dividend of India stock being voted at a meeting of the proprietors, the duke of Grafton, alleging that the rate was extravagant, and that it might lead to hazardous speculation, proposed a bill which should confine it to ten *per cent.* The chancellor of the exchequer condemned this restriction; affirming, that the addition to the usual interest was justified by the improved state of the company's finances, that such a rise as might eventually prove delusive might easily be prevented, and that this infringement of the rights of a chartered body was unjust and impolitic. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition in both houses, the bill passed into a law.

Taking advantage of the indisposition of the earl of Chatham, Mr. Townshend proposed a scheme for raising a revenue in America. He pretended that it was free from the chief objection to which the stamp-act was liable, and that it would not give offence to the colonists, as it would only affect commerce. The import of the bill was, that duties should be charged upon tea, glass, paper, and colors used by painters, whenever they should be imported into any of the provinces; that the money thus levied should be applied to the support

of the civil government, and the surplus paid into the English treasury. This bill met with little opposition in parliament: but it was justly considered by the Americans as a deceptive measure, being similar to the stamp-act in its grand object; and it tended to the revival of a question which ought to have been consigned to oblivion.

This imprudent measure was followed by an act for suspending the legislative power of the assembly of New York, as that body had refused to comply with a statute which required the grant of additional sustenance to the British troops stationed in the province. The assembly, thus stigmatised and menaced, did not prosecute the contest with the parliament, but obeyed the former act.

The political aid of the earl of Chatham being in vain solicited, Mr. Townshend aspired to the station of prime minister: but he died without attaining the summit of his ambition. The last specimen of his talents did not prognosticate that he would be a very wise or judicious director of the cabinet, however eloquent and able he might be in debate. He was so capricious and inconstant, that it is difficult to conceive how "the ministry, under him, would have assumed (as an historian observes) a more decided character." A character subject to the instability of a fickle chief would not have been, in a strict or useful sense, decided or decisive, but would merely have been so for a time, until the premier should change his opinion. Lord North, joint paymaster of the army, was appointed to succeed the defunct minister; and, to gratify the duke of Bedford, earl Gower was permitted to become president of the council, on the voluntary resignation of the earl of Northampton, while the secession of general Conway furnished a high post for lord Weymouth. A new office being

deemed necessary, the earl of Hillsborough was constituted secretary of state for the American department.

The administration formed by the earl of Chatham did not long subsist in full vigor: indeed, soon after the dispute respecting the embargo, it ceased to be animated by his spirit. At one time, the duke of Grafton took the lead; at another, Mr. Townshend was the dictator; and, as the death of the latter was followed by some changes in which the earl did not concur, the appellation of the Grafton ministry was substituted for his name.

Although the earl had now lost his power at court, his abilities did not desert him. He was, indisputably, a man of extraordinary talents; quick, sagacious, and acute. He possessed great vigor of mind, and was distinguished by expansion of intellect. He could frame bold schemes of policy and of war, and enforce their execution with a spirit which rose above all sense of difficulty or danger. Being favored by the great body of the people, he disregarded the occasional opposition of the aristocracy, and could (as he said) defy the proudest connexions of the country. No minister ever conducted the British arms to greater success or more brilliant fame. In each of the four grand divisions of the world, victory attended the steps of our countrymen; and, under his auspices, glory was abundantly acquired both by sea and land. He seemed to infuse his own spirit into every department of the public service; and, while his commanding eloquence over-awed the senate, his influence suspended even the contests of faction. In private life he was perhaps too haughty and unbending: he did not practise the arts of conciliation, and, therefore, he was less beloved than esteemed by his friends.

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1767—1772.

THE storm which the impolicy of the court had excited in North-America might have gradually subsided into a calm, if the national affairs had been directed by an union of judgment and patriotism. But, unfortunately, these qualities did not uniformly predominate in the British cabinet. At a time when harmony seemed to be restored, the revival of an odious claim was indiscrete and unseasonable, and threatened to re-kindle the embers of contest.

Loud clamors arose against the new act; and discontent was widely propagated in newspapers and pamphlets. The inhabitants of Boston and other considerable towns protested against the use of British manufactures, and resolved to direct their industry so completely to objects of art and internal improvement, as to supersede the necessity of importing from the mother-country.

The parliament disregarded the murmurs of the colonists; and the duke of Grafton, although he had objected to the statute which they reprobated, did not propose its repeal. The session was unimportant; and no memorable debates occurred, except those which related to royal grants, and to the affairs of the India company. The duke of Portland, in consequence of an ancient grant, claimed a manor which was included in a new transfer of crown-lands to a favorite; but the court opposed his claim, though a bill was enacted in the sequel for securing, against arbitrary resumption, estates

which had been long enjoyed. With regard to the other subject of animated discussion, it may be observed that the majority voted for a continuance of restriction. As this was the seventh year of the parliament, his majesty dissolved it in the spring; and an unusual eagerness of contest was displayed in the new elections.

A popular personage, whom we have for some time left unnoticed, again brought himself forward to harass the ministry, and excite commotions. He had in vain requested the marquis of Rockingham and the duke of Grafton to intercede with the king in his behalf; and, irritated by his disappointment, he now returned from exile, and solicited the votes of the livery-men of London for a seat in parliament. The citizens did not elect him; but, when he applied to the freeholders of Middlesex, he was warmly encouraged, and chosen with great marks of favor. As his outlawry had not been reversed, he submitted to confinement; from which, however, the rabble wished to rescue him, that he might make his appearance in the senate. A riot ensued; a party of soldiers fired with the permission of the civil power; and some lives were thus sacrificed. Wilkes stigmatised this effect of the riot as a deliberate and horrid massacre, and applied the terms *bloody scroll* to a letter recommending military interference, addressed to the magistrates by lord Weymouth. A proclamation was issued against tumultuous meetings of the people; and the two houses thanked the king for this mark of his attention to the peace of the realm. They also continued some former acts, encouraging the importation and prohibiting the exportation of corn; and notice was taken of that delay of seizing the turbulent outlaw, which had given him an opportunity of being elected a member. The outlawry was annulled by the court of King's-Bench; and the two verdicts produced a sentence of imprisonment.

ment for twenty-two months, beside the exaction of a fine, and of bail for future good behaviour. The populace exclaimed against this treatment, and profaned the name of liberty by connecting it with that of a seditious delinquent.

The affairs of North-America requiring our renewed attention, we may now observe, that the assembly at Boston, influenced by spirited leaders, voted a circular letter, complaining of the late conduct of Great-Britain, and recommending such an association and concert as might procure a redress of colonial grievances. The governor desired that this bold resolution might be revoked; but his proposal was rejected, although it was known that he acted in consequence of express orders from the cabinet. The people even broke out into riotous acts, and denounced vengeance against the commissioners of the customs; and, when the offended governor had dissolved the assembly, the mal-contented summoned a convention, which, without presuming to govern the colony, voted a petition to the king against the proceedings of the parliament. Order was now restored, not merely in consequence of the arrival of a military force, but because the people were inclined to await with patience the effect of the application to his majesty.

In India, after the return of lord Clive to England, the miseries of war again prevailed. A soldier of fortune, named Hyder Ali, had seised the government of Mysore, and added various conquest to that principality. The nizam or viceroy of the Decan was persuaded to become the ally of the usurper; and both began to prepare for war. The council of Madras, suspecting danger, sent out an army to watch the motions of the confederates, whose approach soon led to actual hostilities. Near Tirni-mali (in September 1767) colonel

Smith engaged their forces, and triumphed over a great superiority of number. The dispirited nizam now sued for peace, which was concluded on terms advantageous to the company. In the next campaign against Hyder, the English reduced Mangalour; but it was soon retaken. While Smith was advancing toward Seringapatam, Hyder ravaged the Carnatic, until he was checked by the return of the British commander. An engagement afterward occurred between the enemy and colonel Wood; and although victory at first leaned to the former, the English ultimately obtained the honours of the day. Hyder, still resolute and sanguine, hastened toward Madras, and infused such terror into the officers of the government, that they proposed peace, to which, as well as to an alliance, he acceded, without granting such terms as would recompense the company for the charges of the war.

Amidst the agitations of India and North America, and the contests of faction at home, the king did not neglect the concerns of art and science. He had commissioned captain Byron (in 1764) to explore the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and sail round the globe, for the improvement of navigation, astronomy, and geography, and the increase of general knowledge. This officer diligently examined the Strait of Magellan, corrected former charts by his own observations, and discovered various islands in the South-Pacific. The next circumnavigator was captain Wallis, who (in 1767) added many islands to our charts, and acquired distinction by the discovery of Otaheite. Carteret also traversed the Pacific, and encompassed the globe, with safety and success. At the request of the Royal Society, his majesty ordered a voyage to be undertaken, chiefly for the facility of observing a transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disk. Captain Cook commenced this voyage

after the prorogation of the new parliament, and proved, by his continued conduct, that a proper choice had been made of a navigator for scientific as well as general purposes.

For the promotion of architecture, painting, sculpture, and engraving, a charter had been granted (in 1765) to a society of artists, who had been accustomed collectively to exhibit their performances. Some of these cultivators of the arts, having seceded from the association in consequence of a dispute, proposed (in 1768) the formation of a more respectable establishment. The king, pleased with the scheme, promoted it with his purse, and declared himself the patron of the new society, which was incorporated under the appellation of the Royal Academy of Arts. Sir Joshua Reynolds, the celebrated painter, was the first president of this flourishing academy.

When the parliamentary deliberations were resumed, the case of Wilkes was debated, on the offer of a petition for the redress of his supposed grievances. The majority of the commons were not disposed to allow, that he had suffered more than he deserved; and it A. D. was moved, that he should be expelled for his 1769. libellous remarks upon the epistle of the secretary of state, and his prior offences. This complication of charge was censured as an act of injustice. The offender, it was said, had already been punished for his former conduct, both by a court of law and by the house of commons; and to couple old charges with a new one, would be to chastise him twice for the same delinquency. Besides, the new accusation did not belong to the cognisance of the house; and to expel him on these grounds would be a gross violation of constitutional privileges. The motion, however, was adopted by a great majority of the members

The arbitrary conduct of the house only served to render Wilkes more popular. If the king had pardoned him, or the commons had forbore to molest him, his fame as a patriot would have gradually declined, and his pretensions would have given way to new topics of interest. But the ministry, by aiming at his ruin, elevated him to an importance which he could not otherwise have acquired, and added fuel to the flame of party.

The freeholders of Middlesex, considering his expulsion as unjust, eagerly re-elected him. The house declared that he could not lawfully be re-chosen for the existing parliament; and, therefore, a new election was pronounced to be necessary. Wilkes being the object of renewed choice, the commons again superseded the nomination. Colonel Luttrell offered to brave the popular indignation, by opposing the uncourtly candidate; but he had only 296 votes, while Wilkes had 1148. A warm debate arose when this return was announced to the commons, who at length decided that Luttrell was the legal representative, as the suffrages given for his adversary were rendered unlawful by the late vote of the house. The public loudly and justly exclaimed against these irregular proceedings, these gross infringements of the rights of electors.

The late transactions in North-America having given great offence to the court, the peers, influenced by the ministry, requested that the names of such individuals, as had been most forward in illegal acts, might be communicated to the house, with a view to their being tried in England, upon a statute of the thirty-fifth year of the eighth Henry. When the commons were desired to concur in this proposition, Mr. Pownall, who had been governor of Massachusetts's bay, vindicated the conduct, not of the rioters, but of the principal colonists; represented the meeting at Boston as a mere convention of

the committees of various towns, not a convention of states, which would have been illegal; and warned the courtiers of the danger of provoking men who were animated by a high spirit of freedom, and a strong detestation of tyranny. This appeal had no effect on the members to whom it was directed; and the house adopted the menace couched in the address of the peers.

After the enactment of a bill which required, for five additional years, the payment of the annual sum of 400,000 pounds by the India company, and permitted a gradual increase of the dividends to twelve and a half *per cent.*, the king closed the session with an earnest recommendation of peace and good order to his subjects. In support of his power against the attempts of faction, many addresses had been lately presented; but these were counter-balanced by complaints, remonstrances, and petitions for a change of ministry; among which that of the city of London was most conspicuous for its asperity, exceeding in this respect, even the intemperate address from the freeholders of Middlesex.

The threat of reviving against the Americans a severe statute which had long ceased to be enforced, disgusted even those provincials who had hitherto been most loyal and submissive, and thus strengthened that influence which the Massachusetts leaders had acquired over the colonial confederacy. The assembly at Boston, being again permitted to sit, accused the governor of misconduct, and asserted the right of trial within the colony; and other assemblies insisted on the same privilege. The combinations against British trade were continued; and the people were not satisfied with the promise of the earl of Hillsborough, who had been ordered by the king to intimate to the governors of the provinces, that a repeal of the late duties would be proposed to the parliament.

A. D. 1770. When the two houses met, the discontent manifested in Great-Britain was more noticed by the different speakers than that which had been evinced beyond the Atlantic. An amendment, recommending an inquiry into the causes of the former dissatisfaction, was moved in each house, but without effect.

Among the peers, the debate was invigorated by the manly eloquence of the earl of Chatham (who had resigned the privy seal), and the argumentative abilities of lord Camden. The earl affirmed, that the liberty of the subject had been attacked in the case of Wilkes, and that the commons had violated the rights of election. The attack, he was particularly sorry to observe, was vindicated upon principle, not excused as an occasional irregularity. One branch of the legislature, by declaring and enforcing the law, had assumed a power not allowed by the constitution; and power, unaccompanied with right or justice, was the most odious object that could be conceived. The freeholders of every part of the kingdom ought to consider this cause as their own, and to unite in stemming a torrent which might otherwise inundate the country with the bitter waters of slavery. It was admitted by lord Mansfield, that general declarations of law, proceeding from either house, were improper and injurious; but the case in question, he contended, was merely a particular decision, which the commons, as judges of their own elections, had a right to pronounce. The chancellor argued against the vote which had declared Wilkes incapable of being re-elected. It was, he said, unjustified by precedent, by law, or by reason. He also condemned, as an insult to the whole body of provincial voters, the appointment of Luttrell to be a representative of Middlesex: an election it could not be called, as a majority of the freeholders never would have chosen him. He

strongly censured the conduct of the court, and dreaded, from such a cabinet, farther attacks upon the rights of the people.

The speeches, in the other house, were equally animated. Mr. Edmund Burke and Mr. Charles Fox, who afterwards became so eminent and illustrious, spoke on this occasion. The former declaimed with vehemence against the ministers; the latter was their defender.

The free observations of lord Camden were so offensive to his majesty, that he ordered that nobleman to deliver up the great seal, which was put into the hands of Mr. Charles Yorke, who did not, however, live to do honor to the bench; for, having declared in strong terms that he would not accept the offered dignity, he was so ashamed of his compliance, that he hastened his death by violence.

The marquis of Granby, disgusted at the ministerial proceedings, resigned the post of commander in chief: Mr. Dunning, a distinguished pleader, refused, for the same reason, to act longer as solicitor-general: and the earl of Coventry, and some other peers, relinquished their employments at court.

Not being so strongly supported in the cabinet as he wished, the duke of Grafton was now disposed to retire from the helm. Perhaps, the severe animadversions and pointed reproaches of the celebrated Junius, who had assailed him in a series of well-written letters, accelerated his resignation. The duke was not destitute of talents; but he was not an able minister. He might have been useful as an official subaltern; but the chief department in the state was too high for his capacity, too important for his political knowledge.

The undaunted Junius, aiming at higher objects, had recently attacked the king himself. He did not pre-

sume to accuse his sovereign of a deliberate purpose of invading the rights of the people ; but affected to separate the amiable good-natured prince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Yet the letter tended, in effect, to criminate a monarch who could suffer such misconduct to prevail. The writer acrimoniously traced the course of impolicy from the time of the king's accession ; reprobated the indiscretion, the violence, and the unconstitutional spirit, of the ministers by whom he had been guided ; advised a dissolution of the parliament, on account of the *abandoned profligacy* of the existing house of commons ; and requested, that he would give his confidence to those only in whom his subjects could reasonably confide.

The author is now considered as an English classic : yet, if we reflect on his very intemperate language, the virulence of his abuse, and the unsupported nature of some of the charges which he has adduced, we should rather be disposed to exclude him from ordinary perusal, as one who would mislead his admirers. He certainly writes with animation, frequently with elegance, generally with force and perspicuity. He argues plausibly, but does not always impress conviction : he evinces a knowledge of the constitution, though he sometimes misrepresents its principles : he is an advocate for liberty, but occasionally carries it to the verge of licentiousness. A ministerial author says, " If we allow him only his merit, where will be his praise ? " We answer, that his praise will be that of an ingenious and able writer, and an intelligent politician. At the same time, he deserves severe censure for his seditious spirit, the foulness of his reproaches, and his transgression of the bounds of truth. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the public never could ascertain who he

was. With such secrecy were his transmissions of manuscript conducted, that all the eagerness of inquiry could not unmask him in the prosecution of his bold career; and, even since his supposed death, curiosity has not been gratified with the desired discovery. Various names have been confidently mentioned; but they have not been brought forward with such weight of authority as to silence doubt, or influence general belief.

An inquiry into the state of the nation being proposed in the house of lords, the duke expressed his willingness to enter into a full investigation; but, before it took place, he resigned his employment, which (on the 28th of January) was transferred to lord North. By the advice of the new premier, the earl of Halifax was appointed keeper of the privy seal; and the young orator Fox was gratified with a seat at the board of admiralty.

The debate on the state of the nation was opened by the marquis of Rockingham, who noticed various grounds of censure, but chiefly confined his remarks to the election for Middlesex. Eager to procure a condemnation of the conduct of the commons, he exhorted the lords to declare, that, in judging of elections, the former house ought to adopt the law of the land and the custom of parliament. The earls of Sandwich and Marchmont, and the chief justice Mansfield, decidedly disapproved the interference of the peers in such points as peculiarly belonged to the cognisance of the lower house: but the earl of Chatham asserted, that it was the duty of their lordships to oppose any invasion of the liberties of the people. A considerable majority exploded the proposition of lord Rockingham, and, by a strong declaration, disclaimed the idea of impeaching the judgement of the commons. The same subject had been submitted to the deliberation of that house by Mr. Dowdeswell, who had acted as chancellor of the exche-

quer under the administration of the marquis; and the minister then obtained an approving vote. The commons afterwards stigmatised, as unwarrantable and seditious, that part of a new remonstrance from the liverymen of London which denied the legality of the parliament and the validity of its acts, because the house (said the citizens) had "done a deed which vitiated all the future proceedings" of the legislative body then assembled. The answer given to this remonstrance by the king, who pronounced it to be disrespectful to himself, injurious to the parliament, and unconstitutional, was intemperately censured by the earl of Chatham, who could not prevail on the lords to concur with him in a vote against it, or in an address for a dissolution. One point, however, was gained by the popular party, in the enactment of a bill which declared, that only for felony, and for crimes, punished with the pillory, an expelled member should be incapacitated.

It was probably the frequent mention of the elective franchise in these debates, that suggested to Mr. Grenville the idea of reforming the decisions of the commons in disputed elections. His bill, to which both houses gave their sanction, provided, that, out of forty-nine members named by ballot, the returned representative and his opponent should choose thirteen, who, with two nominees, should form a committee acting upon oath. The determinations of these committees have been generally impartial.

At the time of enacting this judicious bill for the gratification of his subjects in Britain, his majesty gave his assent to one which, he thought, would please the Americans. This was an act for repealing all the duties imposed by Mr. Townshend's bill, except that upon tea. The tax retained was so trifling, that lord North could not suppose it to be objectionable; but he did

not consider that the colonists, regardless of the amount, controverted the claim of right. Mr. Pownall moved, that every part of the former statute should be abrogated; but Mr. Grenville, referring with self-complacency to his own bill of revenue, opposed at once the minister's scheme and the more prudent suggestion of the last speaker. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 62.

When the two houses had been prorogued, the corporation of the metropolis petitioned the king for new ministers and a new parliament. As the reply did not please Mr. Beckford, an opulent West-Indian planter, who was then mayor, he personally reprimanded his sovereign for listening to unconstitutional advice. The reproof was received with silent indignation.

The Americans were anxiously awaiting the new resolutions of the parliament, when an affray arose between some soldiers and the populace of Boston. It soon became so serious, that Preston, an officer, hastened to the scene of confusion. Irritated by reproachful language, and by blows, the soldiers fired, and killed four of the townsmen. The officer was accused of murder; but, being tried when the minds of the people were less inflamed, he was acquitted. The new act was received with some marks of favor; and the traffic with this kingdom was, with few exceptions, renewed.

While the colonial agitations were apparently subsiding, a dispute, which seemed to threaten war, arose between the courts of London and Madrid, respecting the Falkland isles in the South-Pacific. Captain Byron had taken formal possession of those islands (in 1765), and had extolled the advantages which they held out for a settlement. Encouraged by his too favorable report, the government sent out a small party to form a colony, which subsisted for several years in comfort.

less solitude. At length, the governor of another island of the groupe, occupied by the Spaniards, warned the English to retire, but not before captain Hunt had desired a Spanish schooner to depart from the coast. Unwilling to suffer any of the islands to be retained by British subjects, the Spaniards equipped an armament which rendered resistance unavailing; and the isle which had been garrisoned was evacuated by the English. As soon as the king was informed of this insult, he ordered a fleet to be prepared, but did not neglect the means of averting war by negotiation. The French not being inclined to assist the Spaniards, the latter resolved to make such concessions as would appease a ministry not very regardful of national honor. The

A. D. Spanish ambassador disavowed the enterprise of 1771. Buccarelli, who had sent from Buenos-Ayres the force which had expelled the English colony; and it was agreed that the island in question should be restored, but that this stipulation should not annul or impair the pretensions of Spain to the general sovereignty of the insular groupe.

It is said, that his majesty promised, by a secret article, to recall his subjects from the settlement, after they should have been again put in possession of it, and to renounce all colonial views upon the islands. This would have been a disgraceful stipulation; and we have reason to think that no such article was signed. But it was, by both parties, understood (which, as it influenced the negotiation, is nearly the same thing), that Britain would not long retain the settlement, or renew the colonisation of any of the islands. This point ought not to have been mentioned on the occasion; and, upon the whole, the affair reflected no honour upon the king's confidential advisers.

The anti-ministerial members, in both houses, in-

weighed against the agreement with Spain, as unsatisfactory and delusive; but it received the approbation of the majority. Prudence and humanity certainly required, that a war should not be undertaken on such grounds; but it might have been avoided with greater dignity.

The session in which this convention was ratified, was enlivened by a variety of debates: but of these we have very imperfect accounts. In one discussion, which related to the national defence, the lords would not suffer any members of the house of commons to be present; an exclusion which so offended the representatives of the people, that they, in return, refused admittance to the peers. The subject of libels produced some warm debates. Lord Mansfield denied to a jury the right of deciding upon the law in these cases: to the fact, he said, or the points of printing and publishing, their verdict ought to be confined. Lord Camden and the earl of Chatham justly condemned this doctrine, which, they thought, no true friend to the constitution would promulgate or maintain. If jurors should be thus restricted, judges, though they were in general upright and impartial, might sometimes be induced to exercise an arbitrary influence, to the prejudice of justice and liberty. Similar opinions were delivered in the other house by serjeant Glynne, who moved that a committee should inquire into some recent decisions of the judges; but the proposal was rejected, although it was supported by a striking display of eloquence and ability.

At a time when the press teemed with libels, or publications considered in that light, the editors of newspapers, or the occasional contributors to their contents, may be supposed to have been particularly bold and licentious, as those writers seem to claim the privilege

of extraordinary freedom of remark. One species of reputed libel was the misrepresentation of the parliamentary debates. Two publishers were summoned to the bar of the house of commons, for a want of accuracy or of candor in the reports which their papers contained. As they declined obedience, the house sent the serjeant at arms to apprehend them; and, when they had eluded this order, the effect of a royal proclamation was tried. Wilkes (then a magistrate of the corporation of London), and alderman Oliver, discharged both individuals from an arrest which was said to be repugnant to the privileges of the city; and Mr. Crosby, the lord-mayor, not only liberated another publisher who had been seised, but signed a warrant, in concert with Wilkes and Oliver, for the imprisonment of the messenger who had apprehended him. After vehement debates, Wilkes was commanded to present himself at the bar: yet, with determined spirit, he resisted every order for his attendance; and the house forbore to prosecute the contest with him, but sent his two friends to the Tower.

It is still a standing order of each house, that strangers should be excluded; and any member may move for the enforcement of this rule: but the right is very rarely exerted. No persons are *permitted* to take notes of the speeches: but the practice is *suffered* by connivance, as all reporters are not blessed with the very retentive memory of a Woodfall; and from the year 1771 to the present day, with scarcely any interruption, the parliamentary proceedings have been detailed in print.

The Middlesex election was again productive of debate; but neither house could be induced to alter the resolutions upon that subject. In an inquiry respecting an election for New Shoreham, in Sussex, remarkable instances of venality appeared; and, for this in-

fringement of the constitution, eighty-one freemen of that borough were justly disfranchised.

Some ministerial changes may here be mentioned. The earl of Sandwich, on the resignation of lord Weymouth, had been nominated secretary of state; but he was quickly removed to a post for which he was less qualified, being appointed to succeed sir Edward Hawke in the direction of the admiralty. The earl of Halifax again became secretary of state for the northern (or home) department, while the earl of Rochford acted in a similar capacity for foreign affairs. Mr. Bathurst received the great seal: Thurlow and Wedderburne, men of considerable abilities, were declared attorney and solicitor general. Lord Halifax dying in the summer, his employment was given to the earl of Suffolk; and the privy seal was delivered to the duke of Grafton.

When a new session was opened, the opposi- A. D.
tion appeared to have declined in strength; yet 1772.
some spirited debates occurred, particularly on the
affairs of the church. A petition was presented from
many clergymen, academic civilians, and physicians,
alleging a scrupulosity of conscience, which prompted
them to request indulgence in point of doctrinal sub-
scription. The parliamentary supporters of this soli-
citation argued, that the strict enforcement of con-
fessions of faith, of articles which all could not believe,
not only obstructed that freedom of inquiry which led
to the full discovery of truth, but superinduced habits
of prevarication and evasion, injurious both to religion
and morality; that the thirty-nine articles were framed
in an age less enlightened than the present, when the
errors of popery had not entirely lost their influence
upon the minds of the clergy; and that genuine Chris-
tianity could not be impaired by a removal of the ne-

cessity of giving an outward assent to such points of belief, but would derive fresh spirit and lustre from a relaxation of unreasonable rigor. The opposers of the petition, among whom the minister ranked himself, affirmed, that a compliance with such a request would tend to the ruin of the church, as it would encourage sectaries to propagate heterodox tenets under the shelter of the clerical establishment. They insinuated, that persons who were so affectedly conscientious as to withhold their belief from the articles of our reformed church, might resign its emoluments and benefits; and maintained, that the doctrines in question formed a fundamental law, which the parliament, even if it had the power, ought not to annul. The commons resolved, by a majority of 146, that the petition should not be honored even with reception.

When a particular religion is so established as to form a branch of the general government of a state, and funds are assigned for the support of its ministers by the ruling power, it seems proper that an uniformity of doctrine and discipline should be settled by the heads of the church, to prevent irregularity and confusion, and avoid that appearance of instability and caprice which would make unfavourable impressions on the minds of the people. Time, however, may be allowed to produce occasional alterations, not affecting the essentials of religion; and, as some of the articles of our church are confessedly inconsistent and objectionable, the hand of reform may be permitted to touch them, without injuring the grand fabric of Christianity. To excuse individuals from assenting to the prevailing creed, and yet suffer them to enjoy all the advantages of subscription, may be deemed an impolitic indulgence, as those who are unwilling to agree to the terms of admission, have no right to expect the favors of the

church: the conscientious spirit which would disdain or disapprove the required assent, may easily stimulate its possessor to that self-denial which would decline intrusion. To revise and alter the articles would be a preferable expedient. Our present rulers have the same right to enforce such a reform, that our ancestors had to explode the corruptions of the Romish system of Christianity.

The professed dissenters, being excluded from the emoluments of the church, and tolerated in the exercise of different modes of protestant worship, solicited relief on better grounds; and a bill was proposed to the house, to excuse them from signing those articles which the act of king William the Third required them to subscribe. It was urged, however, that the penalties imposed by that statute were not exacted from the persons who evaded it; and, therefore, that the dissenters, sustaining no injury, had no reason to complain. But it was observed, in reply, that they were at all times liable to the operation of the act; and that, as the idea of legal tolerance implied a permission to maintain opinions differing from those of the established church, there was a gross inconsistency in holding out the risque of a penalty. The bill was sanctioned by the commons; but the peers refused to agree to it. The bishops who opposed it had more influence in the debate than reason could justify.

The warm friends of the ecclesiastical body also thought themselves bound to resist a proposal for securing the possessors of estates against obsolete or dormant claims of the church. They alleged the expediency of reserving pretensions which were not extinct, to check the encroaching spirit of the laity. This insinuation was counter-acted by a denial of all wishes, on the part of the landholders in general, to oppress or

harass the clergy. The motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority.

A bill of restriction, with regard to the marriages of the royal family, excited equal attention with the concerns of the church. It was deemed adviseable by the court, on account of the conduct of the duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, who had given his hand to the widow of earl Waldegrave, and also because the duke of Cumberland had presumed to marry the daughter of lord Irnham. It imported, that none of the descendants of king George the Second (except those of foreign birth) should enter into the matrimonial state, under the age of twenty-five years, without the consent of the sovereign; and that, even after the completion of that age, the approbation of parliament should be requisite before the marriage could be lawfully contracted. The courtiers spoke plausibly of the disgrace, inconvenience, and danger, that might attend imprudent and precipitate connexions. The adversaries of the bill argued with greater force, and condemned the restraint as repugnant to law, morality, and sound policy: but it triumphed over all opposition by the force of number.

Other incidents connected with the royal family claim our present notice. The princess Caroline Matilda, sister to our sovereign, had been married (in 1766) to Christian VII. king of Denmark, when she was only in her sixteenth year. That prince was weak in his intellects, and capricious in his humor; open to flattery, and easily deceived by artful persuasions. His queen was gay and lively; and her manners had a strong tincture of levity. Count Struensee, a man of talents and insinuating address, not only governed the king, but rendered himself highly agreeable to the queen. His influence at length excited the envy of the cour-

tiers; and a strong party was formed against him, headed by the queen-dowager and the half-brother of the feeble monarch. Caroline was also an object of the malice of this faction, from her supposed influence over her husband, and her encouragement of the ambitious adventurer who presumed to domineer over the nobles. The count was accused of various offences against the state; and to the queen was imputed the foul crime of adultery, said to have been committed with the obnoxious favourite. An order was procured from Christian for her imprisonment; and Struensee, after an unfair trial, was beheaded. It was even reported that the enemies of Caroline intended to bring her to the block; but the interposition of her royal brother over-awed them into forbearance; and a British squadron escorted her to the mouth of the Elbe. She passed the remainder of her life at Zell, where she died (in 1775) of a malignant fever.

No proof was ever adduced of the truth of the charge against this princess; and the probability of her innocence is considered by many, if not by the generality of people, as stronger than that of her guilt. Though it may be said that she was giddy and imprudent, we cannot decisively affirm that her indiscretion hurried her into criminality.

Soon after the arrest of the queen of Denmark, her mother died in her fifty-fourth year. The private character of this princess is allowed to have been amiable; but her influence over the king her son is supposed to have been exerted in favor of the prerogative, rather than for the interest of the people.

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A.D. 1772—1775.

THE great increase of the power of the India company, after the memorable success of Clive in the preceding reign, had been followed by gross mismanagement and enormous abuses, not by the exercise of political wisdom; and the grant of the privilege of administering the financial concerns of three provinces did not tend to diminish the prevalence of misconduct, although some regulations of reform were adopted. The servants of the company, whether in a civil or military capacity, were more intent on the acquisition of wealth than on the performance of their respective duties; and, as the ordinary modes of obtaining property were not sufficiently rapid, recourse was had to the most iniquitous means of accumulation. The natives were plundered in every form that unfeeling rapacity could devise; and to such a nefarious height was the spirit of monopoly carried, even in the necessaries of life, that many thousands of the natives perished by famine. While remorseless avarice swayed individuals, such prodigality prevailed in public concerns, that bankruptcy seemed to menace the company.

The weakness and folly of the directors, and the misconduct of those whom they employed, at length called forth the strong exertions of the ministry. It was the opinion of some members of the cabinet, that it would be expedient for the government to withdraw the territorial possessions from the hands of the company: but the majority advised the king to adopt a mid-

dle course, and diminish, not annihilate, the authority and control of the directors. A plan was framed A. D. for this purpose, and submitted by lord North 1773. to the deliberation of the commons. He proposed, that the directors should remain in office four years; that none should vote at the elections for that employment without having owned for twelve months the requisite stock; that the qualification for a proprietor should be the possession of one thousand pounds in stock; that the parliament should appoint the governor and council of Bengal; that these officers should exercise a superiority over the administrators of the precedencies of Madras and Bombay; and that the crown should depute four judges to compose a supreme court. The directors, and many of the proprietors, loudly complained of this scheme. The rights of the company, they said, were openly invaded; and the plan seemed to threaten mischief, rather than to promise benefit. The leaders of opposition concurred in these sentiments, and, in particular, reprobated the tendency of the new arrangements to an augmentation of royal and ministerial influence. Beside the bill that comprehended this plan, and which passed into a law, one was enacted for the loan of 1,400,000 pounds to the company.

In consequence of the investigation of the affairs of India, the malversations of the officers of the company were represented as sufficient grounds not only of censure but of severe punishment. Lord Clive, in the preceding session, had been roused, by the insinuations thrown out against him, into a spirited defence: but he then confined himself to the measures and conduct which he had pursued after his return to India in 1765. He boasted of his endeavours to improve the state of the country, to prevent the natives from being oppressed, and to introduce order and good govern-

ment. He asserted his forbearance of extortion, and intimated, that his opposition to the rapacity and malpractices of his countrymen had subjected him to calumny and odium. In this session, the commons were requested to vote, that he had illegally acquired (in 1757) the sum of 234,000 pounds, through the influence of powers with which he was entrusted. He did not deny the receipt of large presents; but affirmed that he merited them by his services to Jaffier, and that he had rescued the British power in India from ruin. The solicitor-general, with plausible and attractive eloquence, defended the accused hero, and emblazoned his exploits; and the majority allowed, by a formal resolution, that he had "rendered great services to his country." Wounded, however, by the attack upon his character, and by the compunctions of conscience, he was prompted, in a moment of rashness, to dismiss himself from the world.

The cabinet, amidst these and other debates, paid some attention to the concerns of the continent. The Russians had, for several years, been at war with the Turks; and, as the French were desirous of stimulating and assisting the Swedes against the former, the British court thought proper to remonstrate against all acts of hostility. A fleet was prepared with expedition; and this appearance of vigour intimidated the court of Versailles into a promise of forbearance.

The Americans were not so easily over-awed. The inhabitants of Massachuset's bay, in particular, still breathed the murmurs of discontent; alleging, that Great-Britain had no intention of renouncing the high claims of arbitrary taxation; that the judges in the colonies had been rendered, by new regulations, dependent on the crown; that, by a recent act, their countrymen might be sent to England for trial; and that their com-

merce was burthened by tyrannical restrictions. Some confidential letters from governor Hutchinson, recommending strong and coercive measures to subdue the refractory spirit of the mal-contents, were treacherously disclosed by Dr. Franklin the philosopher, who was then deputy post-master, to the assembly at Boston; and their effect on minds previously irritated may readily be conceived. The arrival of three ships laden with tea, which the India company had been allowed to export free from duty, increased the ferment to such a height, that, on the refusal of the captains to carry back their cargoes without the formality of a written discharge, a party, in the arms and dress of American savages, rushed into each of the vessels, opened the chests, and threw their contents into the sea.

This outrage was considered, by the court, as nearly equivalent to an act of rebellion: and the minister harangued the commons on the seditious spirit of A.D. the inhabitants of Boston, and the expediency 1774. of repressing their contumacious arrogance by condign punishment. He then recommended a forcible suspension of their commerce; and, although the motion was opposed, as tending to involve the innocent with the guilty, he was permitted to introduce a bill for that purpose. A fine being proposed, in lieu of a stoppage of trade, it was said, in answer, that such a punishment would be ridiculed and despised; and the bill reached the last stage unaltered.

Mr. Fox then appeared in the ranks of opposition. This young member had been removed (in 1772) from the admiralty to the treasury; from which board, early in this session, he was abruptly dismissed, probably because the king did not think that he would prove sufficiently subservient. He now became a decided antagonist of the court, and was soon enabled, by his commanding

talents, to assume the direction of the anti-ministerial phalanx. He denied the policy and propriety of the new bill, condemned it as arbitrary, and derided it as inefficacious. Lord Camden and the earl of Shelburne strongly opposed it in its progress through the house of peers; but it passed without a protest.

This remedy not being thought fully adequate to the evil, lord North stated the necessity of reforming the constitution of the Massachusetts province, so as to give due energy to the executive power; and, with this view, he brought forward a bill which provided, that the nomination of the council should be transferred to the crown, and that the power of the governor should in various instances be augmented. The charter of that colony, he said, ought not to be deemed so sacred, as to prevent the parliament from making new regulations, calculated to stem the torrent of faction. Mr. Dowdeswell deprecated the annulment of a charter which had been found to be admirably adapted to the spirit of the people for whom it was framed, and which, by facilitating their commercial progress and general improvement, had proved beneficial both to the provincials and the parent-state. Sir George Savile and general Conway advised that the parties interested should be heard in their own defence before the abrogation of their charter; but Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards earl of Liverpool) maintained that, in a great point of political expediency, there was no obligation to hear evidence. Mr. Pownall warned the ministry of the danger of provoking the Americans, and exasperating them into the most determined implacability; and other members alleged the probable inefficacy of the act, as those colonies which were already governed in a mode resembling the present scheme, were strongly disposed to resist the parliamentary claims. The great powers of Fox, Dun-

ning, and Burke, were displayed on the same side of the question; but the bill was sanctioned by a very considerable majority.

To give effect to these statutes, another was prepared, which authorized the governor to send to a different colony, or to this country, any persons who, in assisting the civil power, should commit murder, as it was not supposed that such offenders would have a fair trial in the town or province where the incident occurred.

Speaking of the three acts, lord North confidently intimated his hopes of plenary success. Refractory spirits, he thought, would be subdued, and tranquillity restored. The issue of such regulations, he affected to prognosticate, would be advantageous and happy for Great-Britain.

A motion for a repeal of the duty on tea gave Mr. Burke an opportunity of establishing his oratorical fame. He surveyed the conduct of Britain toward the Americans, from the time of the colonisation of each province to the accession of his present majesty; and endeavoured to prove, that it was much more judicious than that which had been since adopted. As the trade of the colonies considerably benefited the mother-country, she was content (he said) with that advantage, and forbore to indulge a spirit of taxation. The alteration of the old system, from whomsoever it originated, evinced a narrow mind, intent on petty objects, not actuated by manly or liberal policy. The different ministers, instead of viewing at one, with an intelligent eye, the complicated interests of the state and its dependencies, looked only at parts and scraps, as they casually offered themselves. They had no system, but thought only of incidental expedients. The authority of parliament (he allowed) was supreme; but it ought not to be rendered incompatible with the just freedom of the colo-

nists. The power of taxing might, in this case, be considered as an instrument of empire, rather than as the means of supply. It would be prudent to omit discussions of right, and revert to the practical wisdom of former reigns.—He illustrated the subject with other judicious observations, but could not prevail upon the house to accede to the proposal.

Both parties exerted extraordinary efforts in a contest which related to the province of Canada. The ministerial members supported a new bill for the administration of that territory, by arguing, that true policy required, in general, and adaptation of the form of government to the temper and habitudes of the people, and that a compliance with the wishes of the Canadians would be more expedient than the complete introduction of the English constitution among them. As they requested that they might retain the former mode of deciding civil causes, without a jury, it was not necessary, said these speakers, to alter that arrangement, although it was advisable (and indeed the provincials wished) to follow the English practice in point of criminal jurisdiction. As a representative assembly was not desired, a council, composed of about twenty persons nominated by his majesty, would form a legislature adequate (without the general power of taxation) to the ordinary purposes of colonial administration. With regard to religion, no danger would arise from allowing the free exercise of that of the church of Rome, subject to a recognition of the royal authority; and as the catholic priests would be permitted to receive tithes from the inhabitants who followed the same creed, the protestant clergy would be gratified with stipends from the king.

These regulations were opposed on various grounds. It was alleged, that the proposed government would be too despotic for British subjects, even those who had

been under the sway of France ; that the latter, except the higher class, were willing to accept all the benefits of the English constitution ; that such a mixture of systems formed a strange incongruity ; that the governor would be enabled, by an artful use of his power, to tyrannise over the colonists of both descriptions ; that the extension of the limits of the province would subject the English, who should pass the former boundaries, to the rigors of the French mode of government ; that the non-permission of the writ of *habeas-corpus* would be a great obstruction to general liberty ; and that a religion hostile to freedom would not merely be tolerated, but established.

Upon the whole, the act was of such a nature as to furnish strong grounds of animadversion : but it appears to have been an acceptable measure to the far greater part of the colony ; and that is a point of no small importance.

The French, at this time, did not manifest the least desire of encouraging the Americans in their opposition to British authority. Louis the Fifteenth, a weak and dissolute prince, had lately died ; and his successor was more attentive to the arts of peace than fond of war. But there was reason to apprehend, that, if an open rupture with the colonies should ensue, the new king, not being remarkable for firmness, might be influenced by his ministry to augment the embarrassments of Great-Britain.

The first intimation of the act against the trade of Boston filled the Massachuset province with clamor and alarm. Terror seized the minds of many of the inhabitants ; but indignation was the prevailing sentiment. The other colonies, except Georgia, partook of the same spirit, and agreed to discontinue their commerce with Great-Britain, until so oppressive a statute should be

abrogated. The committees, instituted in the different provinces by the advice of Dr. Franklin, framed an association, which they denominated the "solemn league and covenant," and issued a manifesto against all friendly connexion with a country that seemed to wish to enslave them.

When copies of the other obnoxious acts arrived, the enraged people would not suffer the alterations of the Massachusetts government to be enforced. General Gage, the new administrator of the British interests, scarcely found himself safe, even with an augmented army; and his efforts to promote submission served only to inflame discontent.

The general association led to important consequences. A continental congress was organised by the counsels of Franklin and other provincial leaders; and (on the 5th of September) the representatives of twelve colonies assembled at Philadelphia. In a declaration which they gave to the world, they asserted the right of possessing the freedom of legislation, except that their trade might be regulated by the British parliament; of retaining all the privileges granted by their charters; of enjoying the benefit of the common law of England; of holding meetings to consider of grievances; and of being free from the control of an army in time of peace. They afterwards voted an address to the British nation, urging the reasonable claim of a participation of rights and liberties, and hinting that the eventual success of the court, in a contest with the colonies, would lead to the establishment of despotism over the whole empire. An application to his majesty followed, stating grievances, and desiring redress; professing warm attachment, yet declaring an inflexible resolution of opposing a continuance of those oppressive measures which had alarmed them with the dread of ruin.

To extinguish the rising flame, all the wisdom of the legislature was urgently required. The king again appealed to his people by a dissolution; and, when the new parliament met, he expressed his opinion of the propriety and necessity of maintaining that authority to which the provincials were unwilling to submit. In each house, the address was debated; but it was sanctioned by that commanding majority which convinced the Americans that their claims would be disregarded. Their late conduct was discussed by both parties, A.D. in consequence of a motion from the earl of 1775. Chatham for the recall of the troops from Boston. The eloquent peer endeavoured to rouse the ministers (who seemed undetermined with regard to their future measures) to a sense of the danger of a civil war. He did not blame the colonists for their resistance to severe acts; but applauded their courage and fortitude. They had shown the spirit of true Whigs—the spirit which had opposed ship-money, and repressed the tyranny of the Stuarts. Their perseverance would ultimately force the parliament to revoke its acts, and alter its system. It would therefore be politic to retract immediately, rather than await the disgrace of compulsion. Concession alone would prevent the mischiefs of unnatural hostility. The earl of Shelburne, while he asserted the general supremacy of the parliament, denied its right to tax unrepresented America, and warmly condemned the coercive system. Lord Camden was no advocate for sedition; but he was inclined to justify the association of the provincials against a government by which they were oppressed rather than protected. The marquis of Rockingham supported the motion, as the presence of the army, he thought, would only irritate the colonists. On the other hand, the earl of Suffolk, after reprobating the insolence and audacity of the malcontents, asserted

the justice and expediency of having recourse to arms. The earl of Rochford and lord Townshend imputed a rebellious spirit to the leaders of the congress, and ridiculed the idea of concession, as a degrading meanness, that promised no efficacy or benefit. The motion was rejected; as was also the outline of a bill, which the same nobleman offered, for conciliating the Americans by renouncing the exercise of taxation, on their explicit acknowledgement of the legislative rights of Great-Britain in all affairs of general policy and imperial sway. The debate upon this bill was marked by indecorous personalities and acrimonious reproaches, not perfectly suited to "the noble natures of the lords."

It was warmly debated by the commons, whether the commotion in the Massachuset province could be justly termed rebellion. This was denied by some of the speakers; while others represented the people of that state as traitors and rebels; and several military boasters added, that they were cowards: but, in the language of logicians, this point remained to be proved. Mr. Fox prophesied, that, even if the provincial soldiery had not always displayed the courage of regular troops, they would not appear deficient in that quality, if a war should be produced by the rashness of the ministry. He proposed, that the house, instead of voting an address (moved by the premier) for the coercion of the supposed rebels, should stigmatise the measures of the court, as tending to widen the breach and obstruct reconciliation. This amendment, however, was exploded by a majority of 199.

When the address was reported, a re-commitment was moved; and Mr. Burke inveighed against the folly and obstinacy of the king's advisers. The lord-mayor now appeared as a speaker against the coercive system. This was no other than Mr. John Wilkes, who, having

been re-elected member for Middlesex, had taken his seat (we do not say without notice, but) without molestation or inquiry. He maintained, that the provincials had acted like freemen, not like traitors; that, if the contest should proceed to sanguinary extremities, the fault would be in the ministry, not in the opposers of unlawful claims; and that the conduct of the cabinet was as impolitic as it was unjust; for, though the force proposed to be employed might garrison Boston, or might reduce that town to ashes, it would not be sufficient to conquer or retain a single province. He was confident that the Americans would sooner declare themselves independent, and risque every consequence of such a contest, than submit to the yoke which the ministers were preparing for them. Some of the members accused the bold magistrate of encouraging sedition, treason, and rebellion: and a great majority supported the address, to which also the peers, after some animated speeches, agreed.

Pleased with the address, his majesty ordered an addition to his forces, both by sea and land; and the commons readily voted supplies for the increased expenditure. The augmentation, however, was so inconsiderable, that it did not intimidate the colonists.

A bill was now introduced to punish the four provinces of New-England, by depriving them of the freedom of trade with other countries, and of the advantage of the Newfoundland fishery. While it was depending, lord North surprised the house by a proposal which appeared to be conciliatory. He held out a promise of suspending the exercise of the right of taxation (except the imposition of commercial duties), if any colony would of itself grant supplies, disposable by the parliament, not only for the purposes of ordinary government, but also for the common defence. Mr. Fox said that this

proposition exhibited a double aspect: it seemed to be concessive to the Americans; and it gratified their adversaries by reserving the right which the court and the two houses had constantly maintained. Mr. Welbore Ellis, and several other courtiers, disapproved the motion, as inconsistent with the address; an objection which embarrassed the minister, until sir Gilbert Elliot rose to reconcile the difference, by alleging that the threats of coercion to the refractory were not intended to exclude the grant of favor or indulgence to those who should be inclined to submit. Mr. Dunning argued, that the scheme was not really conciliatory, but ensnaring and treacherous. The bill which contained it, however, was sanctioned: the restrictive bill also passed; and similar prohibitions were extended, by a new statute, to Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Maryland, South-Carolina, and Virginia.

Mr. Burke, having condemned the scheme of accommodation proposed by lord North, thought it his duty to bring forward a plan which, he conceived, would be more efficacious. He traced, from their English origin and other causes, that love of liberty which characterized the colonists; praised their good sense, and their agricultural and commercial industry; and observed, that such a race could only be governed by politic management. Instead of dividing them, or ruling them by discord, he hoped to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the same interest, which would reconcile them to British government. He would give to every province the constitutional rights which it claimed, and trust to the honour and prudence of the people for obedience to the laws, and to their gratitude for supplies of revenue. But this scheme was unpleasant to the majority, and was dismissed, not in a respectful mode, by the previous question.

In the mean time, a provincial congress sat at Cambridge, in the Massachusetts territory, and, guided by the counsels of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, influenced the proceedings of other colonies. Arms were provided for self-defence against the troops of Britain: the militia were trained; and even the stores of the government were seized, that they might not be used against the people.

It was generally supposed, that unequivocal hostilities would soon follow the preparations which had been made on both sides. Hearing that a considerable quantity of stores, purchased by the Americans, had been deposited at Concord, general Gage sent a detachment from Boston to destroy them. At Lexington (on the 19th of April) the troops observed a small body of colonists in arms. The commanding officer ordering them to retire, they began to march off: but a skirmish quickly arose. Both parties are at issue with regard to the aggressive firing: but, as professed soldiers are usually very forward in making use of their arms, particularly against persons whom they have been taught to consider as seditious malcontents or daring rebels, it is more probable that they fired first. While a part of the royal force destroyed the stores, the rest encountered the provincials near a bridge. In the two conflicts, and in the retrograde march to Boston, sixty-five of the king's soldiers lost their lives, and a hundred and eighty were wounded. As the colonists, on this occasion, trusted more to ambuscade than to open fighting, they did not lose so many of their number. Thus commenced an unnatural war, which did not promise, to the parent who acted like a harsh step-mother, a favorable issue.

Before another engagement took place, a military reinforcement from England arrived in North-America.

While these troops were on their voyage for the attack of their fellow-subjects, and the prosecution of a system which proves that even the most civilised communities retain traces of brutality and barbarism, captain Cook was returning to his native country from a voyage calculated (among other objects) to increase the comforts and improve the attainments of barbarian tribes. We left this illustrious navigator entering (in 1768) upon his first voyage round the world. He discovered some isles in his way to Otaheite, where he, and his philosophical associate, Mr. Banks, viewed the passage of Venus over the sun with scrutinising accuracy. They were the first observers of a cluster of islands, to which the name of Society was given; they examined New-Zealand with great attention; and explored the eastern coast of New-Holland for the space of two thousand miles. In a second voyage (which began in 1772), Cook and Furneaux made a fruitless search for a southern continent: the farther they advanced, the more they were endangered by great accumulations of ice. After they had reached the Friendly Islands, the two captains were separated; and their ships did not meet again. Cook then re-sailed toward the south pole, without finding the object of his pursuit: but he discovered New-Caledonia, a very large island in the South-Sea, and made other additions to the stock of geographical knowledge. Furneaux was not so successful in that respect; and he had the misfortune to lose ten of his men, who were killed and even devoured by the ferocious inhabitants of New-Zealand.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1775—1776.

RARELY has a more impolitic war occurred than that which Great-Britain now began to wage with her colonies. She could gain no honor by being victorious over her own subjects, as they fought in defence of violated rights and in vindication of just claims; and, if her arms should be unsuccessful, she would be punished with loss and disgrace. The powers that wished to humble her, would (it might be supposed) watch her conduct with eager eyes, and seek an opportunity of profiting by her distress. A wise minister might have foreseen the difficulties and perils of such a war, and have averted it by equity and moderation, without betraying any symptoms of timidity. But the British cabinet could neither conciliate nor over-awe, and knew not how to preserve a due mixture of lenity and spirit. Arrogance led to precipitation, and want of judgement produced numerous errors. The treasures of the country were idly lavished: mismanagement, in every form, pervaded the public service. The parliament readily supported the measures of the court, and seemed to meet only to sanction the proposals of the minister, as if they were the produce of extraordinary sagacity and the most profound wisdom.

The plan of accommodation, sanctioned by the parliament, did not conciliate the Americans. It was taken into consideration by some of their assemblies; but it was not honored with an approving vote. When the congress re-assembled, bold resolutions and spirited

measures marked the progress of the contest. It was voted, that a great force should be raised ; that the royal army or navy should not be furnished with provisions of any kind ; and that the same prohibition should extend to every town or place which continued in obedience to the British legislature. The compact between the crown and the Massachuset province was declared null, as the charter had been grossly violated. Articles of confederation were adjusted ; and, as there is some effect even in a name, when concert is requisite, the provinces assumed the denomination of the United Colonies. For the executive government of the body thus formed, twelve members of the congress were appointed. The Georgian province soon entered into the union ; and the colonial cause acquired strength and dignity.

General Gage, having able officers and a gallant army under his command, now resolved to march against the enemy. It was his previous wish to erect fortifications on Bunker's-hill ; but the Americans secretly anticipated his intention. He ordered major-general, Howe (on the 17th of June) to assault their entrenchments : they received him so warmly, that his men twice recoiled ; but he re-animated them by his example ; and, with fixed bayonets, they repelled their antagonists. Another detachment drove the foe from a redoubt ; and Charles-town was reduced to ashes. Above a thousand of the king's soldiers, and about four hundred and fifty of the provincials, were killed or wounded.

This battle sufficiently displayed the valor of both parties. The honors of victory were claimed by the royalists ; but the opposite troops controverted the importance of the success, and continued that blockade of Boston which had been formed after the action at Lexington. Their chief commander, for the future was, was George Washington, who had served against the

French in North-America, in the reign of George the Second.

Mr. Washington was in the forty-third year of his age, tall in stature, and dignified in his deportment. He was well qualified for the station which he was now appointed to fill. He was distinguished by command of temper, by firmness, patience, perseverance. His courage, if not of the most fervid species, was sufficient to exalt him above the unmanly sense of personal fear: if it did not hurry him unnecessarily into the midst of danger, it enabled him to face it with coolness and presence of mind. If he had not the alertness of a partisan, he was not inactive or indolent: if he did not exhibit the fire and impetuosity of a youthful warrior, he was far from being deficient in spirit or in vigor. He was prudent, vigilant, circumspect: he could weary the enemy, like Fabius, by delay and by defensive calmness; and, on the other hand, he was ready to act offensively, whenever he had a prospect of advantage. As a statesman, he was not undiscerning or injudicious: he had good sense and judgment, if not a high degree of acuteness or penetration. He was just, upright, and disinterested. He was, in general, moderate and humane; but, in some cases, he appears to have been harsh and unrelenting. He did not shine or please in social life: his manners and address were rather repulsive than attractive: he was more respectable than amiable.

The appearance of the new general in the camp animated the army; and, when he had read a manifesto of the congress, asserting the necessity of a defensive war, applause and acclamation followed. He examined the state of the military force; and, observing various deficiencies, warned the assembly of the danger of an attack from the English, while his men were so ill pre-

vided with the means of hostility. General Gage, however, forbore to take advantage of the wants or the distress of his adversaries.

In an expedition which was undertaken toward the north-west, the colonists deviated from the strict line of merely defensive hostilities. Alleging that Carleton, governor of the Canadian province, intended to invade New-England, the congress sent a small army to lake Champlain, under major-general Schuyler. Before the commencement of this enterprise, Ticonderoga and Crown-Point had been taken by an American party; and *bateaux* were ordered to be built near those posts, for the conveyance of two thousand six hundred men along the lake. Montgomery, who was a native of Ireland, of tried courage and a respectable character, assumed the command when Schuyler was disabled by illness; and, having reduced the forts of Chamblée and St. John, in Canada, took possession of Montreal. With a force diminished by the retreat of a great number of his men, who alleged that they had completed the term of their engagement, he advanced toward Quebec, and formed a junction with colonel Arnold, whom Washington had detached with about twelve hundred men; by an unfrequented and very difficult *route*, in the hope of effecting a surprisal of the Canadian metropolis. If this officer could have crossed the river St. Laurence as soon as he reached its banks, he might perhaps have been successful; but high winds and the want of boats delayed his passage, and gave time for putting the town in a better posture of defence; so that, when he attacked one of the gates, he was repelled with loss.

In the cold climate of Canada, a winter siege was a discouraging service. Montgomery, therefore, resolved to make a speedy assault, although none but the most sanguine of his followers conceived strong hopes of suc-

cess. Amidst a violent shower of snow (on the last day of the year), he led the New-York troops along a narrow path, under a projecting rock, on the point of a precipice leading to the river. A battery was now hastily relinquished by an intimidated party of Canadians: but, as he was boldly advancing, some individuals suddenly returned to it, and fired one of the guns, which killed the general himself and two of his officers. Dispirited by this misfortune, the division precipitately retired.

At the head of another body, Arnold marched forward to assault a different part of the town: but, receiving a wound in the leg, he was carried away from the scene of action. Captain Morgan then forced one barrier, and attacked a second with great intrepidity. The overwhelming force of the enemy, however, surrounded this division, and seized all who had escaped death.

About five hundred provincials, on this occasion, were killed, harassed or disabled by wounds, or captured. The congress ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of the gallant general, and animated by praise the surviving soldiers.

During the campaign, a new petition was voted by the congress to the king, composed in respectful terms. Its chief purport was, that, instead of unlimited parliamentary control, only such an authority should be enjoyed by Great-Britain, as might leave to the colonies the constitutional privileges of the mother-country. The secretary of state for the affairs of America (the earl of Dartmouth) intimated to the agents who presented this petition, that his majesty would not give any answer to it. But, although it came from an assembly not legally constituted, it deserved some notice and attention.

The leaders of the cabinet seemed to imagine, that

the Americans would be subdued in one campaign ; but they did not sufficiently reflect on the impulse which is given to native courage by the idea of fighting in the cause of liberty. The provincials were unused to arms, and unacquainted with military discipline : they were husbandmen, traders, and mechanics ; but they had a high spirit, and were active and resolute. They could not cope with an equal number of British soldiers in the open field : yet they could harass the enemy in desultory warfare, and protract the campaign where they had no opportunity of signal advantage. As they might have been ruined by rashness and precipitancy, they were cool, considerate, and patient. Even when the great efforts of Britain seemed to threaten them with subjugation, they were not discouraged ; or, if they were for a time, their animation soon returned, from a sense of the danger of submission. A knowledge of reading being generally diffused through the provinces, the newspapers and pamphlets, written in strong language, full of acrimony and invective, contributed to keep up the spirits of the people, and to cherish that flame of liberty which might otherwise have languished.

That the provincials aimed at independence, his majesty affirmed in his speech to the parliament ; but the assertion was denied by anti-ministerial orators, who alleged that they might be reclaimed by conciliatory wisdom. As the king, that he might be enabled to employ a greater force in America, had sent Hanoverians to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, the same speakers inveighed against his conduct, as an illegal act of prerogative, portending danger to the liberties of British subjects ; and a bill of indemnity was proposed for the advisers of the measure : but the idea of such a bill was ridiculed by the court party, and lord North was blamed for listening to the suggestion. It was voted by the

commons, but rejected by the peers. In the latter assembly, a warm debate was occasioned by a motion, respecting American affairs, from the duke of Grafton, who had resigned his office from a conviction of the imprudence and rashness of his associates. He censured the management of the war, and urged the impolicy of continuing it. Lord Lyttelton (son of the historian) defended the ministry with spirit; and lord Mansfield opposed all concessions to the provincials, as he was fully persuaded that they wished to renounce all dependence on the crown. On another occasion, the duke of Richmond and the earl of Shelburne represented the petition of the congress as a fair basis of reconciliation; while lord Lyttelton condemned it as an insidious and traitorous attempt to amuse and delude the king and the two houses.

The efforts of Mr. Burke were again exerted for the purpose of conciliation. He moved that the general taxation of the Americans should be renounced by statute; that the parliamentary duties upon imports and exports should be employed at the discretion of their assemblies; that all obnoxious bills, enacted since the year 1766, should be repealed; and that an act of amnesty should be granted. Mr. Hartley, in moving for a treaty, proposed even farther concessions: but the house, instead of agreeing to either scheme, sanctioned a bill introduced by the premier, which, he said, pursued peace through the medium of war. Its chief provisions were, that all trade and friendly intercourse should cease with the thirteen colonies, and that their ships and goods should be seised; but that commissioners should be invested with the power of granting pardon and protection to the penitent and the submissive. An amendment was offered, importing that the bill should only repeal the act against the trade of Boston, and the

subsequent statutes of which the Americans complained but this proposition was rejected, because it did not combine punishment with indulgence. The attorney-general thought, that the bill would serve as a test of the good dispositions of the provincials, who, if they did not aim at independence, might effect a reconciliation upon reasonable terms. Its principal advocate, in the upper house, was lord Mansfield, whose eloquence, however, was not in this instance accompanied with true wisdom.

To prosecute the war with more decisive effect, the king had hired troops from the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and other mercenary and inhuman despots (for princes who sport with the lives of their subjects deserve such epithets); and notwithstanding severe attacks

A. D. upon the object and terms of the treaties thus 1776. concluded, they were confirmed by a courtly majority.

The war was condemned with indignant asperity by the duke of Grafton and lord Camden, when the duke of Richmond moved for its discontinuance. The same subject was again debated, when the former duke submitted to the peers a conciliatory proposal; and the ministerial lords declared, that the Americans would be expected to acknowledge, unequivocally, the legislative supremacy of parliament, and fully return to their obedience, before orders would be given for a cessation of hostilities.

The Americans, who had early intelligence of the schemes and intentions of the British court, did not suffer themselves to be unmanned by terror or despondency. They even blamed their prudent general for not making vigorous efforts to expel the English from Boston: but he disregarded all censures which he deemed unjust, and patiently waited for opportunities of useful

exertion. At length, however, having received a reinforcement, he resolved to fortify the heights of Dorchester, from which it would be easy to annoy both the garrison and the shipping. This scheme was executed in one night, to the great surprise of Howe, the successor of general Gage. Lord Percy was ordered to attempt a dislodgement of the foe : but, before he reached the spot, the works were too strong to be easily forced ; and it was resolved that Boston should be relinquished. Washington, apprehending that the English would destroy the town if he should obstruct their departure, remained quiet while they were retiring ; and, considering this success as equivalent to a victory, entered the place in triumph.

While general Howe remained at Halifax after his constrained retreat from Boston, sir Peter Parker appeared off the coast of Carolina with a fleet and army. He and Clinton, with this force, sailed to Sullivan's Island, near Charles-town ; and a fierce attack was made by sea upon the fort by which it was defended : but the ships were severely injured by the well-directed fire of the enemy ; and, as the troops could not find a ford between Long Island and the former isle, their commander resigned the hope of success.

After a winter blockade, the conquest of Quebec was attempted in the spring by Arnold. He had not conciliated the Canadians, and was therefore ill supported by them : he could not establish that strictness of discipline which would have concentrated the energy of his soldiers : the small-pox greatly diminished his effective force ; and he did not possess the requisite *apparatus* for a vigorous siege. He erected batteries, however, and prepared fire-ships to burn the vessels in the harbour ; but he failed in both respects ; and, when

major-general Thomas assumed the command, it was resolved in a council of war, that the siege should not be prosecuted.

Although the Americans were sensible of the great power of Britain, and were doubtful of their own ability of resistance, they were still determined upon self-defence. We can scarcely affirm that they were decisively encouraged in this resolution by the spirit with which the anti-ministerialists in England opposed the war, as they at the same time perceived that all the arguments and invectives of the party did not prevent the court from obtaining whatever it desired from the parliament, or preclude the grant of liberal supplies for the continuance of vigorous hostilities. They would probably have continued their exertions, even if no attempts had been made to harass and confound the ministry. They gloried in the justice of their cause, and hoped to succeed by firmness and perseverance. They apprehended that, if they should now submit, after having aroused the keen resentment of Britain, she would wreak her vengeance upon them in various forms, with almost the same severity which she would exercise in the case of complete subjugation ; whereas, by remaining in arms, they had a chance of baffling the aims of their adversaries, since they had reason to expect assistance from France, if not from other powers. Revolving these considerations in their minds, their leaders at length ventured upon a bold scheme, which, they concluded, would invigorate the efforts of the provincial warriors, by convincing them of the necessity of acting with unimpaired energy. Dr. Franklin, and other strenuous promoters of the war, proposed that the thirteen colonies should declare themselves independent, and erect a new republic, as the king had excluded them from his pro-

tection, and had even engaged a foreign mercenary army to destroy the people whom he was bound to govern with wisdom and equity.

The momentous question of independence was debated in the colonial conventions, in consequence of a vote of the congress, advising the inhabitants of those provinces in which the mode of government had not been properly settled, to frame such a system as might be adequate to the exigency. The writings of Paine and other republicans had already influenced the people to wish for a separation from Great-Britain; and when the assemblies of the colonies had agreed to this spirited measure (not, however, without strong resistance in Maryland and Pennsylvania), it was formally proposed to the congress. The chief speaker, in support of the motion, was John Adams, who was feebly opposed by Mr. Dickenson. After frequent renewals of debate, the proposal was adopted; and (on the 4th of July) a consequent declaration was promulgated.

Of the act of independence, these are the opening terms: "When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation."—The causes we need not enumerate; they consist of a series of alleged abuses and oppressions. It is then declared, that "a prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people." Upon the British nation, for having neglected the appeals of the colonists, a temperate attack is made. "Our brethren (it is said) have been

deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we would the rest of mankind,—enemies in war,—in peace, friends.”

The declaration is thus concluded: “We, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; that all political connexion, between them and the state of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other *our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.*”

Many of the Americans censured the republican chiefs for thus rushing to extremities: but the latter vindicated their conduct by alleging, that they had no hope but in resistance; that the effects of defeat would scarcely be more calamitous or deplorable than those of submission to an exasperated foe; that the late act, by demanding the utmost exertions, would call forth all the energy of the new nation, and thus afford a better prospect of success; and that no foreign power would assist the colonies, without full assurances of such a prosecution of the contest as would preclude a return under the British yoke.

The coolness and moderation of Washington induced him to think that his countrymen had gone too far on

this occasion; that their resources were insufficient for their defence; and that the thirteen states would not so firmly coalesce under the general control of the congress, as to meet the danger with due energy. He wished that an opening for honorable terms might be reserved: he aimed at colonial freedom rather than republican independence. But, as the majority preferred the latter species of dignity, he acquiesced in the decision, and consented to retain the command of that army which was destined to rear the infant state.

The English general, and his brother the naval commander, endeavoured to open a negotiation, as they were authorised to grant pardon where they might perceive a wish to submit. For some time, the congress eluded all applications; and, in the mean while, preparations were made for the acquisition of New York—an important post, the possession of which would facilitate the attack both of the northern and southern colonies. Many of the inhabitants of that town were well affected to the cause of Great-Britain; and a plot to favor the landing of the royal army was detected by Washington, who capitally punished some of the conspirators. He was unable to prevent Howe from disembarking his troops either on Staten Island or on Long Island. He, indeed, fortified Brooklyn, and hoped to check the invaders, if they should assault that post. Expecting a battle, he said to his men, "Be cool, but determined;" and he reminded them, that they must conquer or die.

Howe's immediate object was to turn the left flank of the provincials, and thus force them to risque an engagement. Clinton (on the 27th of August) dexterously performed that service, and threw the enemy into confusion. A body of Hessians attacked the centre, and, though they met with a spirited resistance, drove that division

into the woods. Here some brisk skirmishes arose ; and the Americans were put to flight. Lord Stirling, who commanded their right wing, finding that the English had penetrated to the rear, gave orders for a retreat ; and, to secure it, boldly attacked lord Cornwallis ; but being assailed by major-general Grant, he and many of his followers were captured. About one thousand five hundred of the provincials were killed on the spot, drowned, or wounded. The victorious general might probably have forced the lines of Brooklyn, if he had assaulted them immediately after the pursuit : but he neglected the opportunity, and ordered regular approaches to be made. He, perhaps, wished to conciliate, by his moderation in success, those with whom he had been directed to negotiate.

Apprehensive of the interception of his retreat to New-York, Washington now resolved to evacuate Long Island ; and he drew the remains of his army from the works with that caution and secrecy which secured their escape. The embarkation was well conducted ; and the troops, in their new cantonments, had leisure to reflect on the late unfortunate conflict. The general observed their despondency, and endeavoured to re-animate their hopes ; but, in the circle of his friends, he could not conceal his chagrin and anxiety.

A negotiatory conference took place between lord Howe and Dr. Franklin, who had been sent by the congress to Staten Island, to hear the propositions of the British court. The admiral intimated, that, if the colonists would submit to their sovereign, they might expect a repeal or revision of the offensive statutes, and might depend on the equity of his government. Franklin replied, that the Americans were determined not to renounce their independence, and would only treat on that basis. Lord Howe answered, that, while they

held such sentiments, an accommodation could not be adjusted.

As an attack upon New-York was now meditated by general Howe, whose great force (it was thought) could not be effectually resisted, a council was called by the American general; and the result was, that the town should neither be wholly abandoned, nor be occupied by the bulk of the army. But, when the division of the troops seemed to expose them to great danger, the expediency of abandonment was so fully admitted in a subsequent consultation, that preparations were made for that purpose, even before an attack upon a post above the town had produced such confusion among the provincials, as to hasten their retreat. In the station which the fugitives had chosen, Howe did not venture to attack them; but by his arrangements and operations, he constrained them to quit the island upon which New-York is situated. They then formed a line of entrenched camps near the Brunx; and, after a spirited but partial engagement on White-Plains, they made choice of a more defensible post near the Croton.

The English now met with a series of success. They stormed Fort-Washington, and compelled two thousand six hundred men to become prisoners of war. They took Fort-Lee, and over-ran New-Jersey; while the American force was so diminished by desertion, that its commander, in his flight to the Delawar, had scarcely more than three thousand effective men to accompany him. Rhode Island was taken with facility; and the colonial interests were, in other respects, materially injured. The sun of American independence seemed to be on the point of sinking into total darkness; but, from the negligence of those who wished for its extinction, it soon rose again with fresh lustre.

The congress, although obliged to retire into Maryland, preserved a firm countenance amidst the peril which menaced the new republic, and took judicious measures for recruiting the army, encouraging the people, and cementing the union; "maintaining in all its public acts (says a writer decidedly hostile to the American cause) an unvaried appearance of dignity and sovereignty."

At a time when many of the provincials in various parts of the continent, not partaking of the undaunted spirit of the congress, were avoiding danger by a submission to the crown, general Washington resolved to make an attempt for the retrieval of the American affairs. Observing that the British troops were incautiously dispersed through New-Jersey, he sent two divisions across the Delawar to amuse the enemy, while, with another body, he passed the river in the night, amidst masses of ice, and assaulted a Hessian post at Trenton. The commandant was mortally wounded, and nine hundred men were made prisoners. Washington afterwards eluded the endeavours of earl Cornwallis to bring him to an engagement, and suddenly made his appearance at Prince-town, where (although general Mercer, who headed the van, was defeated and slain) he engaged with such spirit, as to defeat three gallant regiments. He thus revived the drooping spirits of his countrymen, by closing the campaign with honor.

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1776—1777.

WHEN the people of Great-Britain received intelligence of the success of the royalists in the provinces of New-York and New-Jersey, of the retreat of the congress from the seat of government, and of the reduced and enfeebled state of the republican army, it was the opinion of many of the sanguine friends of the war, that resistance would soon cease, and the authority of parliament be re-established. More judicious politicians, however, thought that the war would still be continued by the colonists, whose cause, though depressed, might again flourish : and it was easy to foresee, that some of the European powers would be induced to assist the contending provincials, either with troops or with pecuniary supplies. Even some of the zealots of coercion were sensible of the difficulties in which the parliament had involved itself, and doubtful of the issue of the contest.

The renewed deliberations of the legislature were attended with great acrimony of debate, although many of the adversaries of the court seceded from the house of commons. Lord John Cavendish and the marquis of Rockingham, without success, moved an amendment to the address, in each house, and reprobated that misconduct which had produced, first murmurs, then clamors, and, finally, a general revolt. To restore that harmony which had formerly subsisted between this country and the colonies, far different measures from those which the ministry pursued, were declared to be

requisite; and, if the system should not be speedily changed, the recovery of American subjection was pronounced impracticable. The interference of France in the contest, as an ally of the new state, was said to be inevitable; and the most serious calamities were apprehended from the rashness in which the war had originated. The courtiers, on the other hand, vindicated that spirit which aimed at the coercion and punishment of factious incendiaries and audacious rebels; affirmed that the revolters were encouraged by the suggestions of English mal-content; denied that the French or any other nation intended to assist them; and asserted the capability of Britain to carry on the war, in defiance of much greater difficulties than had hitherto appeared.

The *habeas corpus* act being one of the pillars of British liberty, every suspension of it ought to be A. D. watched with jealousy. It could not therefore 1777. be supposed that a bill for that obnoxious purpose would escape strong animadversion. It was introduced by remarks on the difficulty of proving the guilt of many persons whose conduct might have excited strong suspicions, and on the expediency of debarring such individuals from the full power of propagating their seditious notions, and executing their malevolent intentions. It bestowed the power of seising and detaining persons accused or suspected of treason, committed in North-America or on the high seas, or of the crime of piracy. It was worded in a manner so arbitrarily comprehensive, that even individuals who had never been out of England might be imprisoned at home, or banished to a distant settlement, on pretence of having been the instigators or contrivers of treasonable offences committed abroad by others. Mr. Dunning and Mr. Fox argued, that such a latitude of construction as the bill

seemed to allow, would leave every one at the mercy of the crown; that the most innocent would not be safe; and that liberty might thus be rendered an empty name. Lord North and the attorney-general denied that the bill was intentionally framed for such a despotic purpose. When it was in the proper stage for alteration, it was so far amended, that persons residing in Great-Britain at the time of the offence were to be secured from its operation, and the confinement was only to be within the kingdom. It was still opposed as an unconstitutional measure; but it was voted by a great majority, and (without debate) sanctioned by the peers.

That the French and Spaniards would take an opportunity of embarking in the war, was the opinion of persons of merely common understanding: yet the prediction of such a contingency has been adduced as a striking proof of the very extraordinary penetration and perspicacity of the earl of Chatham. In a speech with which he introduced a motion for peace, he repeated his sentiments upon that point. Such an extension of the war, he said, was not less probable, because it had not yet been declared. The only preventive of it would be a speedy reconciliation with the Americans, who would be so pleased with a repeal of all the oppressive statutes enacted since the year 1763, and with the liberty of taxing themselves, that they would be inclined to return under the British dominion. He denied that they originally aimed at independence, or that they were the aggressors in the contest. Lord Lyttelton was shocked at the idea of treating with rebels, and making humble concessions from a fear of the hostilities of France; and the ministerial influence easily baffled the motion.

The affairs of India were also productive of debate. Mohammed Ali Khan, nabob of the Carnatic, or of Arcot, had invaded the principality of Tanjour, stormed

the capital, and seised the rajah and his family. As the presidency of Madras had assisted the nabob on this occasion, the India company stigmatised such injustice with strong censure, and ordered lord Pigot, a brave and respectable nobleman (newly appointed governor), to reform the abuses of the settlement, and restore the rajah to his authority. He succeeded in the latter object, but was prevented by the council from accomplishing the former. Having suspended two of his opponents by his casting vote, and commanded the arrest of general Fletcher, he became highly obnoxious to an unprincipled party; and, by the intrigues of the nabob, and the treachery of colonel Stuart, he was deprived of his power and his liberty. After repeated discussions, the court of directors voted for the recall of the governor and his chief adversaries, that a legal inquiry might be made into their conduct. It was proposed by governor Johnstone, in the house of commons, that this resolution should be rescinded, as lord Pigot had only exerted a justifiable authority, and promoted the interest of the company. Mr. Fox condemned that violent spirit which had perpetrated the outrage against him, that ambition which had usurped the authority of government, and that corrupt meanness which acted in subserviency to an artful prince. Mr. Burke declaimed against the atrocity of the conspirators and the arrogance of the nabob, and stated the necessity of parliamentary interference for the preservation of the British territories in India. The motion was rejected by a small majority. At the time of the debate, it was not known that the imprisoned governor had ceased to exist. To prevent a recurrence of this subject, we may now observe, that four members of the council of Madras were tried for their violation of law, but were merely fined.

When copious grants had marked the liberality of the

commons, the propriety of paying the debts of the sovereign and of increasing his income, came under consideration. Above one half of a million had been voted for the former purpose in the year 1769; and the house now granted, with the same view, a sum exceeding 618,000 pounds. Lord John Cavendish complained of the loose and indefinite manner in which the accounts were stated, and asserted the sufficiency of the king's revenues for his dignified support. As lord North had traced the royal expenditure from the beginning of this reign, to prove that the allowance was inadequate to the disbursements of each year, Mr. Burke justly observed, that such an argument tended to make the prodigality of an individual the measure of his supply. Because a prince, inconsiderately and unnecessarily, had accustomed himself to an expence that surpassed his income, it was absurd to pretend that his profusion ought to be encouraged by the grant of a larger revenue. Wilkes animadverted on the inhumanity of thus fleecing the people, in the midst of an expensive war; and insinuated that a great part of the money was ill employed, as the court exhibited little splendor. Sir Fletcher Norton, speaker of the house, seemed to entertain a similar opinion; for, when he presented the bill, which allowed nine (instead of eight) hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, he adverted to the almost intolerable burthens of the people; mentioned the addition as great beyond example, great beyond his majesty's highest expence; and expressed the confident hope of the commons, that "what they had granted liberally would be applied wisely." For the seasonable hints contained in this speech, sir Fletcher deserved and received the thanks of the house. Mr. Rigby urged the house to disclaim the observations of the speaker; but Mr. Fox insisted on the

applicability of the remarks, and their consistency with the general sense of the assembly; and a resolution was voted to that effect.

Reverting to military transactions, we have no hesitation in affirming, that the negligent inactivity of Howe gave Washington time to strengthen his army and improve its discipline. Having suffered the spring to elapse without any spirited effort, the former commander at length advanced against the enemy. The Americans were then posted at Middle-brook in New-Jersey, behind a ridge of strong heights, near the Raritan. Their army at this station, exclusive of a small body of cavalry, did not amount to eight thousand five hundred men, of whom more than one half had never been in any military action. An attack of their fortified camp being deemed too hazardous, the new knight of the Bath (for the general had been so honored) endeavoured to draw them from their post by a feigned retreat. This manœuvre deceived even the circumspect Washington, who detached a part of his force, under general Greene, to harass the English, and advanced from his camp at the head of his main body, while lord Stirling conducted another division. Howe, concluding that he had now an opportunity of engaging, recalled his troops, and, sending earl Cornwallis to secure the heights, marched to attack the enemy at Quibble-town. By rapid movements, Washington, now sensible of his error, regained his camp; and lord Stirling only sustained a trifling check. Thus disappointed, sir William Howe retired to Staten Island. Thence, after unnecessary delay, he repaired by sea to the capes of the Delaware; but, finding that the Americans had obstructed the navigation of that river, he sailed to Chesapeake Bay, and disembarked his army in Pennsylvania. Washington had already

arrived in that province; and, as he had considerably augmented his force, he was not unwilling to risqué an engagement for the protection of Philadelphia.

Being informed that Howe and Cornwallis were advancing (on the 11th of September) to attack his right wing near the Brandywine, the American general made proper dispositions to receive them; and the conflict was for some time brisk: but his troops were thrown into confusion, from which they only recovered to be again disordered by the vigor of the foe. The centre did little more than check the pursuit; and the left, assailed by Knyphausen, soon retreated. On this occasion, the British troops inflicted a severe loss upon the enemy, with the sacrifice of only a small part of their own number.

The victorious army now crossed the Schuylkill, and gained possession of Philadelphia, which the harassed and ill-provided troops of Washington could not protect. The Delawar being blocked up by sunken machines (consisting of transverse beams pointed with iron), and also secured by floating batteries, as well as by works upon each bank, it became necessary for the captors of the city to open the navigation. Howe having detached some regiments against the works, his vigilant antagonist, who had received considerable succours, resolved to aim a blow that might, he hoped, be severely felt. The surprisal of the British army at German-town was the object which he had in view. He directed his chief officers to attack the wings in front and rear at the same time; and the early movements of his troops seemed to promise success. Assaults were made with spirit, and (on the 4th of October) several brigades penetrated into the town: but the English at length checked the intruders; and, although Sullivan's division fought

with great courage and alacrity, the Americans were obliged to retire.

The advantages obtained by sir William Howe, in this campaign, were not very important: yet he displayed some skill as a general, and his troops acquired fame for courage and discipline. He had been desired by lord George Germain (who, before the battle of Minden, had been deemed a good officer, and, as secretary for the affairs of America, had been for some time the director of the war), to aim at a junction with Burgoyne, who commanded an army destined to act in the north. But he had no opportunity of joining that officer, whose operations we now proceed to relate.

In the autumn of the preceding year, the command of Lake Champlain had been contested in a remarkable engagement, between a *flotilla* of gunboats constructed in England (and conveyed in pieces to America), and a similar fleet equipped by Arnold, who, indeed, suffered a defeat, but signalised his skill and intrepidity. Sir Guy Carleton, who was present in this conflict, but permitted captain Pringle to direct it, then approached Ticonderoga, but was induced to postpone the siege of that fortress. In the following summer, Burgoyne commenced the siege with a well-appointed army, and soon constrained the Americans to evacuate the post.

The loss of Ticonderoga alarmed general Washington: yet both he and Schuyler, who commanded in the north, predicted that the early success of Burgoyne would inspire him with a degree of confidence which would lead him into great danger, and might tend to the ruin of his army. His alacrity and ardor, indeed, were checked by the difficulties which impeded his march. The roads having been broken up, and the bridges destroyed, the reparation of the former and the re-con-

struction of the latter required great labor, and consumed much time. In this interval, Schuyler recruited and animated his troops; but, not thinking that it would be prudent to attack the English, as they approached Fort-Edward, he retired to Still-water, with intentions of mere defence. Here he was informed of the investment of Fort-Stanwix by colonel St. Leger, and of the defeat of a considerable body of militia sent to the relief of the garrison. He now detached Arnold against the besiegers, and removed his camp to some islands near the confluence of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers.

The want of various supplies, by prompting Burgoyne to send troops for the seizure of stores deposited at Bennington, subjected him to a loss of five hundred men, who were killed or made prisoners in two conflicts near that station. An exaggerated account of this misfortune concurred with the approach of Arnold to produce a precipitate retreat from Fort-Stanwix.

Schuyler being suspected of not being zealous in the American cause, Gates was appointed to succeed him in the command; and, when he found that Burgoyne was advancing along the Hudson with a view of co-operating with the grand army, and putting an end to the war, he marched against him with a recruited force. At Still-water, Arnold engaged the right wing, which Burgoyne personally commanded; and great valor was displayed on both sides. The republicans did not retire from the field before they were attacked by a part of the left wing; and they did not scruple to claim the victory.

While the two armies remained inactive after this conflict, sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition from New-York; and, while one of his divisions stormed Fort-Montgomery, near the Hudson, another attacked Fort-Clinton with equal success, though with greater loss. He then received some intelligence of the state of affairs.

to the northward; but, instead of advancing, contented himself with sending general Vaughan up the river, to seek an opportunity of assisting Burgoyne.

Despairing of the co-operation of Clinton, the leader of the northern army resolved to try the effect of a vigorous conflict. Attended by major-general Philips, and other officers in whom he reposed great confidence, he advanced with a select body in the hope of dislodging the Americans from a post which enabled them to obstruct his march: but the attack was anticipated by the vigilance of Gates, who disordered the left division by a fierce onset, and would have overwhelmed it, if a corps, sent to the aid of the right, had not altered its course so as to assist the more endangered party. In this service the gallant brigadier Fraser was mortally wounded. The right defended itself with spirit, but could not avoid the necessity of a retreat. The enemy now assaulted the camp, and Arnold even entered the works; from which, however, being wounded, he was soon driven. The German entrenchments were forced, and not recovered. Burgoyne now changed his position; and Gates endeavoured to prevent him from reaching Lake George, but suffered him to retire to Saratoga.

The danger of the incautious general was now extreme. His force was nearly surrounded by one which trebled it in point of number: even the danger of famine was apprehended; and he could neither advance nor retreat without the most alarming peril. He therefore resolved, with the concurrence of all his officers, to negotiate with the hostile commander. Gates required, that all should surrender themselves prisoners of war: but this demand was rejected with disdain; and it was agreed (on the 16th of October), that the troops should lay down their arms, after marching to a fixed spot with the usual honors of war, and should be conveyed from

Boston to Europe, with a proviso that they should not serve against the Americans without the balance of an exchange. Exclusive of Canadians, the number of men exceeded four thousand six hundred; and, while they were piling their arms, the polite victor would not suffer their feelings to be wounded by the presence of his men at the humiliating ceremony.

As Burgoyne had commenced his expedition with pompous boasts and lofty menaces, contained in a haughty manifesto, penned by himself with the vanity of an author, and answered by Gates with the plainness of a soldier, the unfortunate conclusion of the enterprise was more particularly striking, and exposed him to a greater weight of censure. He was certainly a brave officer, but was not fully qualified for high command. The expedition, indeed, was not well planned at home, or well conducted on the theatre of action.

Some blame was imputed to the general for the cruelties committed by the Indians whom he employed: but it appears that he checked their barbarities as far as his influence and authority would extend. The earl of Chatham, in parliament, took an opportunity of reproaching, with indignant warmth, the employment of such brutal warriors against civilized enemies; and every humane auditor felt the force of his eloquence: but the ministry seemed to think that no chastisement could be too severe for rebellious traitors.

The terms of the capitulation were not honored with observance on the part of the congress. The troops were detained in America, on pretence of their not having given up all their arms, accoutrements, and stores, but chiefly because it was apprehended that, if they should be suffered to return to England without delay, the king would add them to the standing army, out of

which he would send an equal number to serve against his late subjects.

The fame of general Gates was so established by his recent success, that a strong party in the congress endeavoured to procure his elevation to the supreme command of the American army, particularly when Washington had forborne to attack Philadelphia, which some of his sanguine countrymen thought he might have taken by storm. The majority of the assembly, however, were so fully convinced of the merit of the commander-in-chief, that they would not suffer the shafts of envy or of calumny to wound his fame; and even the soldiers who had conquered under Gates disdained the idea of the proposed transfer of authority.

Howe marched out of Philadelphia in the winter, with an intention of attacking Washington; and, at a time when each occupied opposite eminences, the Americans had a superiority of number. The English commander could have forced them to engage; but his caution prevailed over his courage; and Washington was not so rashly confident as to rush spontaneously to a general conflict. Sir William, after a few evolutions, retired toward the city; and the republican army withdrew to Valley-Forge, a strong post near the Schuylkill.

The American soldiers, for several months, were exposed to serious inconveniences. A great number were almost destitute of clothing: shoes were very scarce among them: and they could only procure a scanty allowance of ordinary food. Many desertions ensued; but those who remained preserved their spirits, and nourished their fortitude with the inspirations of hope.

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1777—1780.

THE chief powers of the continent could not view, unmoved, the proceedings of Great-Britain against the Americans. Despotic princes, from their ordinary feelings, were inclined to consider the authority of the crown as paramount and supreme, and all opposers as traitors: yet, when envy or jealousy intervened, they were disposed to countenance and encourage the revolvers, that the parent-state might be weakened and humbled. The sovereigns who had colonies did not reflect on the danger of propagating, by such encouragement, a spirit of freedom which might be adverse to their own claims; and those who had no colonial dependencies, however arbitrary in their own governments, were not very ready to assist in the enforcement of subordination among the subjects of another prince. The French and Spanish courts were anxious spectators of the growing variance and discord between our monarch and the colonies: they watched the conduct of our cabinet (as the earl of Chatham observed), and waited the maturity of its errors. Louis the Sixteenth, indeed, was unwilling to interfere; but, as he had not the spirit to withstand the importunities of the queen's party, he in an evil hour acquiesced in pernicious counsel. Aid was promised to the congress; and the provincials were encouraged to a vigorous prosecution of their revolt. It was intimated, that the co-operation of Spain might be expected; and the Dutch, it was added, were well-wishers to the glorious cause. The French ministers, however,

did not speak thus openly before they were informed of the success of general Gates at Saratoga. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Silas Deane had been long negotiating with them, but could only procure vague promises, until they were animated by that important intelligence. Then M. Gerard announced to the deputies, that his master had at length resolved to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to conclude two treaties with the rising republic. Such agreements were therefore framed, as tended to unite the contracting parties in commerce and in confederacy.

Before the French so decidedly favoured the American cause, their preparations induced his Britannic majesty to increase his navy; and a knowledge of their inclinations prompted the earl of Chatham to propose the interference of parliament for the speedy procurement of peace. It was impossible, said that nobleman, to subdue the Americans. In three campaigns, nothing had been done, and much had been suffered, by their adversaries. British valor had not prospered in so iniquitous a war; and the efforts of alien mercenaries had not been successful. While there was yet a chance of conciliating the colonists, an offer of honourable peace ought to be made. If they should insist on independence, he would not support them; but he did not suppose that they would be obstinate in this respect. The peers were also addressed by lord Camden in terms which strongly condemned the war; and, with regard to independence, he declared that he would rather acquiesce in the claim, than promote the subjugation of the Americans, whose slavery might eventually be extended to the inhabitants of Great Britain. The earl afterward moved for copies of the orders and instructions given to Burgoyne, and reprobated the plan which that officer had endeavoured to execute, as a wild, un-

combined, and mad scheme: but his various motions were rejected.

After warm debates in each house, upon different national topics, the minister, humbled by misfortune, brought forward two bills of a pacific tendency. A.D. One provided for the abandonment of the disputed right of taxation; and the other empowered commissioners to make ample concessions. Many members properly observed, that these offers would formerly have been accepted with pleasure and gratitude, but would now be fruitless, as the Americans, irritated and injured, were inflexibly determined to support their independence. The altered tone of the court was ridiculed, and imputed to the dread of a war with the house of Bourbon. The most indignant opposer of the bills, in the upper house, was earl Temple, who accused the ministry of depressing that spirit which the new levies had evinced, and of disgracing the parliament and nation by a base subserviency and submission to rebels.

The levies to which the earl referred arose from the zeal of corporations and private persons, who subscribed large sums for new enlistments. Objections were made, in both houses, to these instances of public spirit; and the ministers, who had encouraged and accepted such offers, were censured for raising money without the consent of parliament.

Soon after the enactment of the conciliatory bills, the king informed the parliament, that he had received a note from the French ambassador, announcing the conclusion of a treaty of *friendship and commerce* with the United States of North America, yet disclaiming all *hostile views* against Britain; and that, in consequence of this offensive communication, he had recalled his representative from France. Some of the anti-ministerial

speakers advised a concession of the grand point of independence to the Americans, as the only means of detaching them from their new engagements, which the congress had not ratified; while others reprobated such meanness, as pregnant with misfortune and disgrace. Each house voted an address of support, without agreeing to an amendment which proposed a change of the ministry.

The earl of Chatham had been lately requested to superintend new arrangements: but the negotiation for this purpose proved abortive. That nobleman, being informed of an intended motion from the duke of Richmond (on the 7th of April) for a speedy adjustment of all disputes with the Americans, whose independence the mover and his friends were even inclined to acknowledge, resolved to oppose the humiliating concession with those powers of which his indisposition and infirmity had not deprived him. When lord Weymouth had argued against the motion, the earl rose with his usual dignity of deportment, and expressed a sincere joy in being able to attend his duty, at a time when ideas were entertained of surrendering the sovereignty of the crown and parliament over the American provinces. He rejoiced that he was "still alive, to lift up his voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy."—"Where is the man (he asked) who will dare to advise such a measure?—shall a nation, seventeen years ago the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon, and stoop so low as to say to its inveterate enemy, Take all that we have, only give us peace? It is impossible!"—As the kingdom still had sufficient resources for the maintenance of its just rights, he hoped that one effort might yet be made to avert such disgrace.

In attempting to rise again after a reply from the

duke, the venerable statesman lost, for a time, the faculty of speech and the power of action; and only instantaneous support could prevent him from falling. The debate was adjourned out of respect for his character: he was removed to his villa, and died in the following month. His funeral was solemnized at the public expence: a monument was decreed to his fame by the representatives of the nation: his debts were paid by the liberality of the same assembly; and it was ordered, that four thousand pounds *per annum* should pass with the title to his heirs.

While the earl yet lived, bills promotive of Hibernian commerce, which he would probably have supported, were in a train of settlement: but, being censured in numerous petitions, they did not, when altered, grant such advantages as their advocates originally proposed.

Trusting to the liberality of an enlightened age, the English Catholics, at this time, entertained hopes of relief; but, in an address to the king, promising support against foreign enemies, they did not presume openly to solicit indulgence. In consideration of their loyal and decorous behaviour, Sir George Savile urged the propriety of repealing the most rigorous provisions of an act of the year 1699; and, as the ministry did not oppose the measure, a bill passed for that humane purpose. The liberty of religious worship, and the free inheritance and acquisition of landed property, were now allowed to that class of dissenters.

At the prorogation of the parliament, his majesty, adverting to the conduct of France, declared that, as it had been his constant care to give no just cause of offence to any foreign power, the prince who should dare to disturb the tranquillity of Europe would be answerable, to his subjects and to the world, for all the fatal consequences of war.

The failure of the scheme of pacification was prognosticated by every intelligent politician. Before the arrival of the commissioners (the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone), the congress, in answer to letters of sir Henry Clinton and lord Howe, enclosing the conciliatory acts, had hinted its resolution of maintaining independence. This insinuation, alone, was sufficient to show that no treaty would be concluded. When the three agents had reached Philadelphia, they proposed very favourable terms of accommodation in an epistle to the congress. That assembly, far from acceding to the offer, replied in the language of asperity. To a second letter no answer was given, because it neither contained an acknowledgement of the independence of the United States, nor a promise of the speedy recall of the fleets and armies. The arrival of M. Gerard from France, as minister plenipotentiary, did not tend to relax the spirit of the republican leaders, or to produce an acquiescence in the proposals of the British delegates.

Weary of fruitless campaigns, Howe had resigned his command; and Clinton (who succeeded him) prepared, early in the summer, for the evacuation of Philadelphia, in consequence of orders delivered by the commissioners. Even before the whole army had retired, a body of republicans entered the city; but Clinton prosecuted his march across New-Jersey with little annoyance, until he reached Freehold court-house. Major-general Lee then advanced to assault the British rear, but quickly retreated. Being met by Washington, he was reprovved for his conduct, and ordered to return to the charge. He again retired, when he had checked the enemy for a time. The generals Greene and Wayne behaved with greater spirit, and maintained the conflict till the evening. Clinton now proceeded to-

ward Sandy-Hook, whence he and the army sailed to New-York.

A naval engagement was now expected. The count d'Estaing, who had sailed from France with twelve ships of the line and some frigates, hoped to find lord Howe in the Delawar; but, being disappointed in that respect, he hastened towards the harbour of New-York. Discouraged by the difficulty and danger of the entrance, he left Howe unmolested, and sailed to Rhode-Island. The appearance of the French armament induced the royalists to destroy five frigates, that they might not be captured; and Newport was endangered by the attempts of general Sullivan, who raised the siege, however, on the precipitate retreat of the count to Boston.

An invasion of the province of Connecticut being deemed adviseable, Clinton employed major-general Tyron in that service. Some villages were plundered and burned; but no great benefit resulted from the expedition. The war was prosecuted in various parts of the continent with a spirit of revenge and barbarity, rather than with manly hostilities. Clinton and Washington watched the motions of each other; and each forbore a general attack.

The Georgian province was invaded with success. Sir Henry detached colonel Campbell by sea, and directed major-general Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, to lead a sufficient force by land. Robert Howe, an American general, had recently made an attempt upon the last-mentioned province; but, being constrained to retire with loss, he had stationed his small army near Savannah. He did not strongly oppose the disembarkation of Campbell, but made such arrangements as, he thought, would enable him to save the town. The colonel, however, discovered a private path, which led through a swamp, round the right of the

American lines, into the rear ; and, by thus surprising the enemy, he obtained a decisive advantage. Ample stores were taken, with the town, by the troops of Campbell ; and that officer, as humane as he was brave, conciliated the provincials by his lenity and moderation. Prevost then assumed the command of the united force, and completed the conquest of the country.

While the count d'Estaing lingered in the harbour of Boston, the marquis de Bouillé, without waiting for his assistance, conducted an armament to Dominica, and, with little difficulty, gained possession of the island. The count at length proceeded to the West Indies, and attempted to relieve St. Lucia, which was exposed to an attack from admiral Barrington and a land force under Meadows. The French fleet twice encountered the admiral without effect : the troops, led by M. d'Estaing himself, were equally unsuccessful in an assault ; and he retired with loss and disgrace. The governor, soon after, surrendered the capital and the whole island.

In Europe, an engagement occurred which excited strong animadversion. The reputation of admiral Keppel having pointed him out for high command, he undertook the maritime defence of the country, and was sailing with twenty ships of the line when two French frigates came within view. Being chased, one of them fired both with cannon and musquetry, and instantly exhibited a signal of surrender : the other fiercely encountered a pursuing vessel, and was not taken. Having captured one which was seen the next morning, Keppel was informed that thirty-two sail of the line were nearly ready for sea ; and he therefore returned to Spithead for the augmentation of his force. Ten ships being added to his fleet, he re-sailed down the channel, and observed the enemy near the Breton coast. The count d'Orvilliers, not being very desirous of a conflict,

GEORGE III.

retired ; but Keppel (on the 27th of July) brought him to action. When the engagement had continued for some hours, with much greater loss of men on the side of the French than on that of the English, it ceased, because the fleets, sailing in contrary directions, had passed each other. After a hasty reparation of damages, Keppel ordered the van and the rear to concur with him in a new encounter. Harland obeyed ; while sir Hugh Palliser, merely because his own ship was considerably injured, refused to bear down upon the foe with the whole or the greater part of his division. The admiral, however, might still have obtained an important advantage by proper exertions ; but he suffered the French to retire. A Hawke or a Boscawen would not have been so inattentive to the call of British honor.

Such an appearance of misconduct required a scrutiny. Palliser, being attacked in a daily print devoted to the cause of opposition, and offended at the refusal of the admiral to vindicate him, accused the latter (among other charges) of having, by a movement to leeward, lost an opportunity of victory. Both A. D. were tried by courts-martial. Keppel was acquitted in terms of high approbation, to the great joy of the populace. Palliser was also acquitted of criminal disobedience ; but his connexion with the ministry rendered him very unpopular.

The admiral did not scruple to affirm in parliament, that the glory of the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands. He was even thanked by both houses for his conduct ; but we do not think that he merited such a distinction. Both officers appear to have deserved censure : both injured their former reputation.

Keppel endeavoured to justify himself by criminating the lords of the admiralty, when his friend Mr. Fox had proposed that their negligence should be censured by

the house of commons. The dismissal of the earl of Sandwich was the particular object of a subsequent motion in each house: but his lordship was firmly supported by the majority.

Animated debates arose from the repeated investigation of the American concerns. As the commissioners, in a manifesto which they addressed to the congress and the provincials in general, had threatened them with all the outrages of military licentiousness, to punish them for their connexion with the French, a just indignation was expressed, in both houses, at the unfeeling spirit which could prompt such menaces. The supposed misconduct of sir William Howe, and more particularly that of the minister who directed his operations, aroused the keenness of censure; but the inquiry which took place did not subject either to the stigma of the house.

As the catholics had been lately favored, the protestant dissenters had reason to expect that relief which the parliament had hitherto refused to grant. A bill was therefore enacted, to excuse their ministers and schoolmasters from subscribing to the articles of the church: they were merely required to signify their belief in the Old and New Testament.

The session was near its close, when lord North gave notice of the intended hostilities of Spain. As such an extension of the war had long been expected by almost every one except the ministers, the intelligence was not received with surprise. His catholic majesty, affecting a desire of peace, had persuaded the British and French monarchs to send to Madrid their respective propositions, that he might communicate to each court the sentiments and offers of its rival. But, as the French insisted on the confirmation of American independence, the mediatory endeavours, which indeed were not sincere, were ineffectual and nugatory. An aggressive

manifesto was issued by Spain: it was ably answered by Britain; and preparations were made for the chastisement of the new enemy.

The supplies voted when the war was on the point of breaking out with the colonies, were so moderate, as not to rise beyond 6,600,000 pounds. In the succeeding year, they were above nine millions: they were soon after nearly augmented to thirteen millions: in another year, they exceeded 14,300,000 pounds; and, in 1779, it was thought necessary to make a demand of more than 15,700,000 pounds. For the year 1775, only 18,000 seamen had been voted; a smaller number than had been allowed in some years of undisturbed peace. The number of soldiers, voted at the same time, did not amount to 22,000. For the next year, 28,000 seamen and 20,700 soldiers, beside a numerous body of foreign subsidiaries, were voted. After intermediate augmentations, the number of sailors became, in 1779, 70,000; and the whole military force in British pay, foreigners included, bordered on the same amount. The members of opposition frequently asserted, that the public accounts were carelessly kept; that great profusion and waste prevailed; and that more effectual service might easily be performed with supplies considerably inferior: but the ministry imputed these clamors to a spirit of faction; and would not agree to a regular inquiry into the management of the national treasure.

The occurrences of the war, in this year, were not particularly remarkable. The chief commander in North-America did not undertake any memorable expedition: but he prevented Washington from profiting by the inactivity of the British army. He sent to Virginia a small force, which deprived the Americans, by capture or by destruction, of many vessels and considerable stores: he dispossessed them of some forts on the

Hudson ; and the province of Connecticut was furiously ravaged, without drawing Washington to its relief. To punish the savages for the cruelties which they had perpetrated by the direction or with the connivance of the English, that commander detached Sullivan toward the Susquehannah ; and eighteen villages were destroyed in this incursion. In the north, the American marine suffered a serious diminution, when commodore Collier had sailed to the relief of a garrison of royalists in the bay of Penobscot. The besiegers were compelled to retire ; and nineteen ships were burned or captured. A considerable number of sailors, and many of the soldiers of the besieging party, died in the retreat, of hunger and fatigue.

The arrival of the French on the coast of Georgia invigorated the hopes of the Americans. The count d'Estaing had sent four thousand men to the island of St. Vincent, which the governor soon surrendered, as many of the inhabitants were disaffected, and as the soldiers were not sufficiently numerous for a vigorous defence. Grenada was the next object of Gallic hostility. With twenty-six sail of the line, and about nine thousand soldiers, the count appeared near St. George's town : and a strong detachment assaulted the works, which were bravely defended, but without effect, by a very small party. The fort was then attacked ; and, as the French would not permit the governor to capitulate, he was constrained to surrender at discretion. Admiral Byron, with twenty-one ships of the line, had sailed to the relief of the island ; but it was taken before his arrival. He engaged the French fleet as closely as the count would allow ; and suffered considerable loss, but inflicted greater injury. M. d'Estaing afterward sailed to Georgia, and made a descent near Savannah. In conjunction (though not in full concert) with general

Lincoln, he commenced the siege of that capital; and, after the formality of regular approaches, had recourse to the vigour of an assault. Each division of the besiegers planted a standard upon the walls; but, being at length driven from the fortifications with great loss, they relinquished the siege.

With regard to the operations of the catholic confederates of France, we may observe, that the governor of Louisiana invaded West-Florida in the summer, reduced a fort near the frontiers, and took possession of some settlements bordering on the Mississippi; while another body of invaders harassed the logwood-cutters on the Mosquito shore. The garrison of Omoa being too vigilant to be surprised, the fort was cannonaded by the English both by sea and land; but the Spaniards did not abandon its defence before the walls were scaled by the intrepid besiegers, who also captured some rich vessels. When the British squadron had retired, the enemy re-took the fort.

In Europe, the French and Spanish fleets threatened, by their conjunction, to overwhelm the British navy. Against sixty-six sail of the line (thirty-six of which had been furnished by Spain), the government could only equip thirty-eight to form the grand fleet for the defence of the island. The appearance of the allies before Plymouth excited strong alarm, as that port was inadequately provided with the means of defence: but they contented themselves with the capture of a ship of the line, and retired after an ostentatious parade. They pursued admiral Hardy for a time, without seeming to be very eager to bring him to action. Notwithstanding the panic which an invasion might have produced, the tutelar genius of Britain would still have animated her sons; and her foes would have been crushed or expelled by the spirit of the country.

While a foreign confederacy thus insulted Britain, an association of the subjects of the crown gave considerable embarrassment to the ministry. We allude to the state of Ireland; a kingdom which we have not often mentioned in our history of this reign. Its affairs, during the agitations consequent on the war, acquired, from the energy of the people, an unusual degree of importance. The sister realm had been long treated more like an alien or a stranger than a friend. Her interests had been neglected, her commerce restricted and fettered, her offspring impoverished and oppressed. We do not deny that the state of the country had been improved, and the comforts of the people augmented, in the two preceding reigns: but much remained to be done, and many grievances called for redress. A free parliament, it was thought, would more studiously promote the prosperity of the nation, than a legislature dependent upon that of Great Britain; and a freedom of trade was also desired, as its good effects were so conspicuous in this island. To promote the acquisition of these great objects, the Hibernian patriots encouraged a popular union. Amidst the dread of foreign invasion, the government permitted the lieutenants of counties to give out arms to active and able-bodied men. Hoping to intimidate the court by a display of force, the gentry stimulated the people to form associations, and learn the military exercise; and the volunteers soon became so numerous, that the public stores could not answer the extraordinary demand for arms. The purses of individuals supplied the deficiency; and a great national force was embodied—"an army (says lord Sheffield) unauthorised by the laws, and uncontrolled by the government of the country."

At the commencement of a new session of the British

parliament, the royal speech recommended an attentive consideration of the means of benefiting Ireland, without injury to the rest of the empire. The earl of Shelburne enumerated the distresses and grievances of his countrymen, and moved that the house of peers should censure the ministers for having neglected the application of seasonable remedies to the alarming evils of which they had full knowledge; but the proposal was too uncourtly to be adopted.

The plan of commercial relief, adjusted in the cabinet, embraced three objects—namely, the repeal of such clauses (or parts of British statutes) as prohibited the exportation of wool, wrought or unwrought, from Ireland; the annulment of all prohibitions of the export of glass; and the grant of a free trade with the colonies in America and with the African settlements. As both parties concurred in these points, bills were soon enacted, which allayed the discontent of the Irish traders and manufacturers. The volunteers, however, continued to overawe the government, in the hope of procuring a compliance with other demands.

The wanton prodigality of the ministers had long been a subject of complaint; and the extension of the influence of the crown, studiously promoted by an extraordinary number of placemen, officers, dependents, and expectants, embittered, in the minds of freemen, the evils arising from an unprecedented increase of the public burthens. The freeholders of Yorkshire persuaded the inhabitants of other parts of the realm to petition the house of commons for redress; and the leaders of opposition framed a regular plan of parliamentary hostilities against the court.

After several attacks upon the ministry in both houses, the commons were urged by Mr. Burke, in a

A. D. speech which all admired, to attend to the voice 1780. of the people. National economy, he said, was an object which he would earnestly recommend, and strenuously promote, until it should be adopted by the executive power. It was not only necessary in itself, as tending to alleviate the burthens under which the nation groaned, but was also highly requisite for the diminution of the exorbitant influence of the crown. He did not wish to offer violent remedies for the evil, as temperate applications would be more effectual. A tax upon all offices had been proposed; but to this he objected, as a measure of mere compromise, calculated to prevent reform,—a fine paid by mismanagement for the renewal of its lease.

The general rules, upon which he founded his plan, were seven in number. He first proposed, that all jurisdictions, more expensive, and more subservient to oppression and corrupt influence, than advantageous to justice or political administration, should be abolished. Under this head he ranked the principality of Wales, the duchy of Lancaster, and other miniature regalities. He advised, secondly, that all public estates, more productive of vexation to the tenants than of benefit to the revenue, should be sold—for instance, the crown-lands. Thirdly, he suggested the propriety of suppressing offices attended with greater charge than proportional advantage to the state, or uniting them with others upon a moderate salary. This was a copious head, as it included the civil list.

The royal household, he said, still retained the cumbersome charge of a Gothic establishment, although it “had shrunk into the polished littleness of modern elegance and personal accommodation.” Many of its offices were continued for the purposes of influence,

rather than for real use or from necessity. He therefore hoped, that the posts of treasurer of the household and the chamber, master, controller, cefferer, and a multitude of other offices in the department of the lord-steward, would no longer be suffered to subsist. He mentioned the board of works, and that of trade, as wholly useless to the public, and trusted that the parliament would agree to the abolition of both. In the civil branch of the board of ordnance, a great retrenchment, he thought, was adviseable: the offices of military paymaster and naval treasurer ought to be subjected to a less prodigal management: the income of the places holden by patent, in the exchequer, ought to be very considerably reduced: the mint might easily be simplified: the pensions might be limited to sixty thousand pounds *per annum*; and many other defalcations of expense might be made without the least detriment to the public service.

The fourth rule tended to the annihilation of such offices as obstructed the operations, or impaired the proper exercise of the functions, of the financial superintendant. The fifth related to an invariable order in all payments: the sixth involved the reduction of every establishment; and of all its parts, to certainty; and the seventh opposed the continuance of subordinate treasuries, as they might be called the nurseries of mismanagement.

The eloquent projector of this plan did not expect that the whole would be adopted by the parliament: he was aware of the obstinacy with which the court and the ministry would maintain the established system of abuse and prodigality. Of the five bills which he brought forward in pursuance of his grand scheme, not one became a law. All the arguments adduced in their support served only to amuse the house. A vote, how-

ever, was obtained (by a majority of eight voices) for the suppression of the board of trade and plantations ; and, when Barré had proposed, that commissioners should be named for the revision and adjustment of the public accounts, lord North introduced a bill for that purpose ; which, though it did not fully answer the general wish, was at least a testimony of ministerial condescension.

The leaders of opposition collected all their strength, and much more than their usual strength, upon a question submitted to the commons (on the 6th of April) by Mr. Dunning. Referring to the accumulated petitions, which had been feebly opposed by a few ministerial addresses, he forcibly contended for the necessity of pursuing the two objects recommended by a numerous and respectable part of the community. They were so far connected as to be easily consolidated, in point of general argument ; for a system of economy would reduce the influence of the crown. The increase of that influence had been foreseen by Hume ; and, if not seasonably checked, it would overthrow, or dangerously weaken, the barriers of the constitution. When he had ably argued the case, and indignantly satirised the proceedings of the ministry, he requested the house to declare, that the influence of the crown had increased, continued to increase, and ought to be diminished. Sir Fletcher Norton considered the progress of this influence as so clear, that no reasonable person could doubt it ; and he called upon every friend of the constitution to join in repressing it. Mr. Dundas affirmed, that it was by no means greater than the due balance of the constitution required it to be. On a division, the numbers were, 233 for the motion, and only 215 against it.

The success of the anti-ministerial party, on this occa-

sion, seems to have exceeded the general expectation : but the union which produced it was merely temporary. All the members who composed the majority were not actuated by the same impulse : some (we hope, many) were patriots : a considerable number were merely instigated by a desire of embarrassing the ministry : not a few, perhaps, hoped to please their constituents, and secure their re-election : others may have voted from caprice and versatility. When a point has been obtained with difficulty, the retention of it is, in some cases, easy : but, when it depends on the fluctuations of a popular assembly, there is little security for the permanence of the acquisition. The persuasions of artful emissaries, and the intrigues of interested placemen, recalled some into the paths of servility, and seduced others to an acquiescence in the system of the court, and a connivance at ministerial misconduct. Thus the hopes of the public were unfortunately baffled, almost as soon as they were excited.

So successful were the endeavours of lord North and his colleagues for the recovery of a parliamentary majority, that, when Mr. Dunning proposed an address to the king against a prorogation or dissolution, while the alleged grievances were unredressed, the court was gratified with a plurality of fifty-one votes. When the same member afterwards moved for a confirmation of the vote of a committee of the whole house for the exclusion of some officers of the household from parliament, a majority of forty-three exploded the proposition.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1780.

VERY serious mischief has frequently arisen from religious zeal and bigotry. Many of those who have deliberately embraced particular doctrines, are exasperated at the disagreement or opposition of others, not only where the dissimilitude of sentiment is very considerable, but even where the difference is much less important. In the latter case, the animosity is often greater than in the former, perhaps because, when such near approaches are made in point of belief, it seems more particularly unreasonable to each, that the other should differ from him, than in the case of an opposite religion, where that fundamental contrariety exists, which no arguments or persuasions can be expected to remove. Hence the presbyterian and the catholic, though they agree in being followers of our Blessed Redeemer, are sometimes more hostile to each other than the Christian and the pagan. The animosities, however, of those sects in this country, had long seemed to be on the decline, when the statute which relieved the catholics aroused the zeal of presbyterian and methodistic devotees. Lord George Gordon, a man of an unsound mind, fanned the flame of bigotry by his enthusiastic representations; and, as president of a protestant association, he proposed that the enemies of Romish superstition should accompany him in a numerous body to the house of commons, to present a petition for the repeal of a statute which disgusted their intolerant spirit. About forty thousand persons, chiefly of the lower

class, flocked (on the 2d of June) to St. George's fields; and, having received directions from lord George, marched in four divisions to Westminster. Loud shouts announced their arrival at the scene of action. They did not all behave in that decorous and respectful manner which their leader affected to recommend; for many of the party insulted the members whom they saw approaching, and even attempted to force their way into both houses.

When lord George had moved for the immediate attention of the commons to the subject of the petition, almost all who were present voted against such a deliberation, as it could not be perfectly free amidst the clamours and threats of a licentious multitude. Some troops arrived in the evening, and the mob retired; but many, before they returned to their respective homes, attacked two Romish chapels, burned one, and committed great devastation in the other.

On the following day, earl Bathurst, the president of the council, declaimed against the insolent and injurious treatment which some of the peers had suffered from the rabble, and the outrages which had been perpetrated in the evening; and moved for the prosecution of the rioters. The earl of Shelburne hoped, that the prosecutors would distinguish between the efforts of religious opinion, however ill directed, and the lawless violence of unprincipled depredators. He blamed the ministry for not having prevented the riots by timely precautions, and took an opportunity of inveighing against the *guilty* premier and a *venal* house of commons.

Encouraged by the timidity and negligence of Kennet, the chief magistrate of the capital, the populace, after an interval of only one day, renewed the exercise of bigoted fury and outrage, which continued with increas-

ing violence, until the soldiery fired upon the turbulent incendiaries.

During four days, riot, pillage, and conflagration, prevailed. Many houses of catholics and protestants were destroyed: Newgate and other places of confinement were burned, after the release of the prisoners; and so extensive was the havoc, that a dread of the general demolition of the city began to agitate the terrified inhabitants. One night (the 7th of June) was particularly terrific and alarming. The Fleet and King's-bench prisons were fiercely blazing; thirty fires were seen at one instant: individuals were running in every direction, some removing their effects for the purpose of security, some feloniously carrying off the property of others: shouts of barbarous transport were succeeded by the appalling roar of musquetry, the yell of intoxication, and shrieks of horror.

Amidst scenes so disgraceful to humanity, two hundred and ten persons were shot; and seventy-five others afterward died of their wounds. This statement is taken from a military return; but it must be observed, in addition, that some were crushed by the fall of houses, and others perished in the flames; and that, in the conflagration of a distillery, many destroyed themselves by drinking spirituous liquors to excess.

These melancholy incidents gave birth to a variety of reflexions. Some of the adherents of the ministry affected to believe, and ventured to affirm, that the rioters were subsequently encouraged, if not primarily instigated, by the parliamentary opponents of the court: but this was the effusion of party malice. If some of the ministerialists were mal-treated in their persons, and injured in their property, so were several members of opposition: in this respect, therefore, the rioters were impartial. It was insinuated, on the other hand, that

the emissaries of the court fomented the disturbances, with a view of repressing, by a display of the mischiefs of public commotion, the rising spirit of popular association. The riots certainly had that effect: but the insinuation was not founded in truth. The ministry, and the magistrates, were negligent in their endeavours to suppress the commotions; but this tardiness arose from a hope that the storm would quickly subside, and from an unwillingness to exercise the rigors of military execution. When the disturbances assumed a more serious complexion, the attorney-general Wedderburne advised, that the soldiers should be allowed to fire upon the mob, by order of their officers, even without the presence or authority of a magistrate. The ministers were then blamed for being too violent; and those who admitted the necessity of this measure, were yet of opinion, that *they* (and not merely the inferior agents) ought to have sought refuge in an act of indemnity, to preclude the establishment of such a dangerous precedent.

As the leader of the association of bigots had encouraged his confederates to persevere in their exertions, and, in some intercepted letters, had spoken in raptures of the glorious cause, even hinting an approbation of the conduct of the rioters, he was interrogated by the privy council on the subject; and the result of the inquiry was a full conviction, not only of his having abetted the zeal of the devotees of the kirk, who had excited riots beyond the Tweed, but of his contributing by his inflammatory speeches to the convulsions of the capital of the realm. He was afterward sent to the Tower, upon an accusation of high treason; but, when he had undergone a regular trial (in February 1781), the jury acquitted him of that charge, although no one could pronounce him free from the guilt of sedition.

When the parliament re-assembled after the extinction of the riots, the house of commons, instead of agreeing to the repeal of the act of which the Protestant Association complained, consented to prohibit catholics from educating or instructing protestant children. The bill for this purpose, however, after having been so far amended, by a suggestion of the lord-chancellor Thurlow, as only to forbid such instruction in boarding-schools, met with the disapprobation of the majority of the peers.

The restoration of tranquillity was followed by the trial of its misguided disturbers. In the city, thirty-four men and women were convicted of capital felony; but his majesty spared the lives of fifteen of these delinquents. In the borough of Southwark, twenty-four received sentence of death, of whom fourteen were reprieved. Thus, amidst justice, the king remembered mercy.

Returning to scenes of foreign hostility from those of internal commotion, we are pleased with an opportunity of mentioning the maritime success of the English over their Spanish adversaries. Gibraltar was besieged and blockaded; and the defenders of that fortress required various supplies. As admiral Rodney was sailing to their relief, he descried, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, twenty-two sail, not one of which escaped. Fifteen were mercantile vessels; a ship of the line, frigates, and sloops, formed the rest of the prizes.

A more important advantage quickly followed. Don Juan de Langara was cruising off Cape St. Vincent (on the 16th of January), with eleven ships of the line, in the hope of preventing the relief of Gibraltar. Rodney had a greater force: but a conflict threatened peculiar danger to his fleet, as, in order to preclude the retreat of the Spaniards to the coast, he found it necessary to

keep to leeward, in a dark and tempestuous night. In the first hour of the engagement, a Spanish ship of seventy guns blew up, with the loss of six hundred men. The contest was prolonged for ten hours. Four captured ships reached Gibraltar in safety: one, which had been taken, went on shore (and the English seamen on board became captives); and one was lost on the breakers. About two thousand four hundred of the enemy, with don Juan himself, were made prisoners. The fortunate commander, having supplied the wants of the besieged, sailed to the West Indies. While he was pursuing his voyage, a spirited action occurred between a British and French squadron, near the coast of Hispaniola. Commodore Cornwallis obtained the chief honor of the day, as M. de la Mothe Piquet retreated toward Cape François.

The fleets of Rodney and the count de Guichen, twenty against twenty-three sail of the line, engaged (on the 17th of April) near Martinique. The English admiral resolved to deviate from the established practice, and not attack all the hostile ships at once, but break their line by bearing down in force upon one division, the defeat of which, he concluded, would be followed by the discomfiture of the whole. His own ship drove three of the count's vessels out of the line; and several of the captains emulated his gallant conduct; but others did not bring their ships sufficiently close, or act in full obedience to his orders. He put the enemy to flight, however; and, as soon as he had partially repaired his damages, gave chase for three days, until the count arrived off Guadaloupe. Four weeks afterward, the same commanders had another conflict, in which neither proved victorious. In a third encounter, also, little advantage was gained by either party. In these actions, about two hundred of the English were killed, and six

hundred and fifty wounded : of the French, about thirteen hundred lost their lives or received wounds.

A Spanish armament having joined M. de Guichen, it was expected that some of the West-Indian islands would be attacked, or that the combined fleets would assist in the reduction of New-York : but the ravages of an infectious disease, and a want of union between the admirals, produced an inactivity which favored the English.

Many French ships, both of war and trade, were captured in the former part of the year ; but, in August, forty-seven British vessels, bound for the West-Indies, and five destined to the East, having troops and valuable stores on board, became prizes to the French and Spaniards.

The campaign in America was attended with some important events. Clinton, being desirous of the reduction of South-Carolina, sailed from New-York under the convoy of vice-admiral Arbuthnot, and, landing on St. John's island, proceeded to the vicinity of Charles-town. The command of the harbour being a requisite preliminary to the capture of the town, Arbuthnot prepared to pass the bar or sand-bank, which he thought the Americans would defend, but from which they retired as he advanced. Fort-Moultrie did not greatly impede his progress ; and he soon anchored near the town, but could not open the mouth of Cooper's river, as it was guarded by a line of sunken vessels.

The preservation of the town was considered, by some of the American officers, as very improbable, after the loss of the harbour : but general Lincoln was encouraged to defend it by the hope of receiving considerable succours, for the introduction of which he still had an opening. He therefore gave a peremptory refusal to the demand of a surrender, and defied the attempts

of the besiegers. But his confidence was seriously weakened when he found that some of his posts of communication were forced ; and, the town being at length completely invested, he proposed a capitulation, to which, as his terms were too high, he could not procure assent.

The besiegers having carried on their works with great skill and regularity, sir Henry, in the fifth week from the opening of the batteries, ordered preparations to be made for a decisive assault. Lincoln now (on the 12th of May) agreed to a surrender ; and about six thousand men became prisoners of war. The whole province being subdued by some farther operations, earl Cornwallis governed it with prudence and ability ; and he conceived sanguine hopes of adding North-Carolina to his new conquest. To prevent such a defalcation from the territories of the republic, the congress sent a respectable force to the southward, and conferred the command of it upon general Gates, who, finding an English garrison at Camden, on the frontiers of South-Carolina, encamped his army near that post.

The superior number of the provincials (being in the proportion of five to two) did not deter Cornwallis from marching to attack their camp. Gates did not await the assault, but began to advance toward Camden at the very hour when the English left that station. The most forward parties met in the woods (on the 16th of August) ; and a Maryland regiment was so disordered in the skirmish which ensued, that it did not effectually recover from the shock. The British infantry under lieutenant-colonel Webster attacked, and speedily routed, the Virginian militia, whose fears were communicated to the troops of North-Carolina. Gates endeavoured to rally the fugitives ; but, being furiously pursued by the cavalry, they bore him away in their course. The

regulars were charged by lord Rawdon, and did not disgrace themselves by their conduct. The reserve, assaulted both in front and in flank by Webster's division, recoiled twice, but renewed the conflict. Observing that the brigades which still resisted had no cavalry to aid them, Cornwallis sent a body of dragoons against them; and, being at the same time pushed by the bayonet, they fled with the utmost precipitation. Above seven hundred and fifty of the Americans lost their lives, and nine hundred were captured; while about three hundred and fifty of the victors were killed or wounded. Sumpter, a bold partisan, was afterward attacked by colonel Tarleton, an equally enterprising officer, and defeated with considerable loss.

The victory at Camden was succeeded, on the part of lord Cornwallis, by acts of severity. He put some of the prisoners to death, for having acted against his countrymen after serving with them; and he thus inflamed the animosity and resentment of the provincials. He then marched into North-Carolina, and seized Charlotte-town; but, when he was informed of the discomfiture of a strong body of loyal militia, he returned, disappointed, to his southern station.

After the return of Clinton from Charles-town to New-York, East-Jersey was invaded with little effect; and arrangements were made for an attack of Rhode-Island, where a French army under Rochambeau had arrived. While sir Henry was employed in this expedition, general Washington crossed the Hudson with ten thousand regulars, and, hastening to King's-bridge, threatened New-York. Clinton now returned to secure that important station; and the Americans retreated to avoid an engagement. Their interests were at this time endangered by the treachery of major-general Arnold, who, expecting great rewards and powerful

patronage from the British government, resolved to desert that cause in which he had so highly distinguished himself.

A strong post near the Hudson, called West-Point, had been subjected to the command of Arnold, who now offered to surrender it with its dependencies to an English detachment. A clandestine negotiation was carried on for that purpose; and major André, a gallant, amiable, and esteemed officer, spontaneously undertook its final adjustment. He passed up the river at night, landed upon ground that was not within the posts of either army, and conferred with the traitorous general, from whom he received confidential papers for sir Henry Clinton. For want of an opportunity of returning by water, he was constrained to attempt a retreat by land. Arriving unintentionally within the American lines, he assumed a disguise, and obtained a passport under a feigned name. He soon re-entered neutral ground, and flattered himself with the hopes of safety; but was suddenly stopped by three armed men, to whom he in vain offered his purse for a free progress. He now, under his assumed name, procured the conveyance of a letter to Arnold, who, instantly embarking, reached New-York, and was declared a brigadier in the royal service.

The case of major André was submitted to the consideration of general Greene and other field-officers, who unanimously pronounced him a spy, and advised that he should be punished with death. Washington, reflecting on the great danger which threatened his countrymen from the secret negotiation, was not inclined to favor the unfortunate prisoner; and, when Clinton, alleging that he acted under a flag of truce, requested his release, the republican general answered, that "he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of such flags," and that, in the course of his examination, he had frankly and can-

didly disclaimed the supposition of his having come on shore under such a sanction. He was hanged at Tappan, amidst the regret even of the American soldiery, who blamed the inflexibility of their stern commander.

Intent on a display of the leading features of the American war, and of the important events which arose from it, we have neglected the concerns of British India. Notwithstanding the severity with which lord North's plan for the administration of that territory was censured, the act contained some judicious regulations : yet it did not produce that reformation of government which its promoters wished to establish. If the administration became more regular, it was still pregnant with abuse ; and, if more firm, it was oppressive and tyrannical.

Mr. Hastings, and his subservient friend Mr. Barwell, had the chief sway at Calcutta when the bill passed ; and the new members of the council were general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. Hastings was certainly qualified, by sense and abilities, to govern a colony or a province ; but his spirit was too high, and his ambition too inordinate, to allow him to rule with moderation and equity. Not content with the mere preservation of the territories which the company possessed at the time of his appointment, he wished to extend the British dominion in Asia by arms or by policy, although he might have supposed that such conduct would excite the jealousy of the native powers, and might give rise to a formidable league, which might ultimately defeat his favorite purpose. The three new counsellors opposed his views, and humbled his arrogance, until, by the death of the amiable and upright Monson, he was enabled to make use of his casting vote, so as to obtain a paramount authority. He then reigned without control, tyrannised over nabobs and rajahs, levied contributions, and made war at pleasure. His internal government was arbitrary : but, as it was less

rigorous than that of the native princes, it was sufficiently softened by contrast, not to render him the object of strong odium; and he threw a lustre over his sway by acts of liberality, and by the patronage of arts and literature. Such was the man who was destined to give occasion, by the bold exercise of his power, to the most sublime flights and most brilliant effusions of oratory that perhaps the British parliament ever witnessed.

The active spirit of the governor had been evinced by his joining in an unnecessary war, before the moderate party arrived to check him. The vizir of the Mogul empire (as the nabob of Oude was called) wished to add the Rohilla country to his territories; and, as tyrants easily find pretences for injustice, he stated plausible grounds for the war, in a conference with Hastings, whom he engaged, by liberal offers, to assist him with a brigade of the company's troops. The Rohillas were attacked and defeated; and, after a course of devastation, a multitude of their families were driven into exile, while the rest submitted to the dictates of the invaders.

A war against the Mahrattas had also been undertaken by Mr. Hastings, who, on the transfer of a part of Oude from the Mogul to that nation, seised the territory in question, and refused to continue the payment of the annuity due to the Indian prince, alleging that he had forfeited his claim to protection by connecting himself with the natural enemies of the company. During this war the nabob died (in 1775), and was succeeded by his son Asof-ul-Dowlah, to whom the disputed territory was secured, in consideration of new grants to the English. Hostilities were at the same time carried on against the Mahrattas by the presidency of Bombay, in support of the fugitive Ragonaut-Rao, who had offered, in the event of his attainment of the dignity of *peishwa* (or acting chief of the state), to cede some districts to the

company. The majority of the council of Bengal condemned the war, and sent colonel Upton to conclude peace, the terms of which were more favourable than could reasonably have been expected.

When the governor had acquired a preponderating sway in the council, he prepared for a new war with the Mahrattas. He fomented the dissensions among the chieftains, and courted an alliance with the potent rajah of Berar, who had pretensions, by right of blood, to the supreme dignity in the former state. An army, sent to the Mahratta frontiers (in 1778), suffered great distress from thirst and fatigue, but took possession of several towns. The troops of Bombay gained a mountainous pass leading to Poonah, and hoped to reduce that capital, which, however, they were not suffered to reach. Finding that Ragonaut was not joined by the force which he pretended to expect, and that the enemy aimed at surrounding them, they commenced a retreat from Telligam. Attacked by a very numerous host of cavalry, they with difficulty escaped destruction, and were glad to compound for safety by relinquishing their late conquests.

The rajah of Berar, unwilling to assert his claim by sanguinary outrage, declined the governor's offer, and advised him to cultivate peace. Not all the address of general Goddard could induce that prince to recede from his determination. His judgement controlled all ambitious thoughts; and he contented himself with the undisputed enjoyment of his own principality.

As soon as intelligence of the rupture with France reached India, the English took Chandernagore and other French settlements; and preparations were made for the siege of Pondicheri. A small squadron attacked the French marine near that port, and so far gained the advantage, that the enemy, when challenged to a new

conflict, after the English had recovered their station, from which they had been driven by the wind and current, retreated in the night. The place was now invested both by land and sea; but the defence was resolute and even obstinate. The approaches of the besiegers were retarded by heavy rains; and, by the fire of the garrison, above nine hundred men were killed or wounded. When a bold assault seemed to promise success, general Monro resolved to risque it; but M. de Bellecombe averted the peril of dreadful havock by a seasonable capitulation.

The French, exasperated at the loss of their settlements, filled the courts of the native princes with clamours against the English, whom they accused of cherishing the most ambitious schemes, and of aiming at the conquest of the whole Indian peninsula. Hyder Ali, apprehensive of danger from the encroachments of such aspiring intruders, and also stimulated by a desire of conquest, was encouraged by Gallic emissaries to renounce his alliance with the company, and co-operate with the Mahrattas; against whom, in defiance of the treaty which followed the battle of Telligam, in 1779, the presidencies of Calcutta and Bombay had ordered the renewed march of troops. The nizam, partaking of the alarm, entered into a confederacy with Hyder and the Mahrattas; and vengeance was denounced against the disturbers of the peace of Hindostan.

On the side of Guzurat, general Goddard advanced to engage the Mahrattas. Having invested Ahmedabad, he soon made a breach in the walls; and colonel Hartley was directed to assault the city. It was difficult to make a better choice for such a service. Notwithstanding a spirited resistance, the assailants took the town with small loss; and the success accompanied with moderation and humanity.

The Mahratta chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, cautiously avoided a general engagement. Goddard, however, with the light troops of his army, stormed their camp, and routed its defenders: captain Campbell, with only two battalions of sepoys, repelled fifteen thousand men: Walsh and Forbes also defeated considerable detachments with a small force.

In the Gohud territory, major Popham highly distinguished himself. Scindia had deprived the rajah of the greater part of his dominions, and had garrisoned Gwalior, a fortress so advantageously situated on a high perpendicular rock, and so effectually strengthened by art, that it defied the operations of a siege, and could only be taken by a surprisal or a blockade. Being informed that banditti had sometimes ascended the rock, and that the guards usually went to sleep after their rounds, the major discovered the most practicable spot, and secretly prepared ladders both of wood and rope for the bold attempt. A party of native grenadiers first reached the parapet: Popham followed with two battalions; the astonished garrison made little resistance; and the fort was taken without the loss of one life on the part of the assailants.

The hostilities of Hyder Ali were directed (in 1780) against the Carnatic. Finding the country ill defended, he diffused terror and devastation wherever he appeared. Former ravages were trifling, in comparison with those which now ensued. The enemy of peace marked his route with blood and with flames. He at length formed the siege of Arcot, while Madras was filled with consternation.

The army under the immediate command of sir Hector Monro not being sufficiently strong to cope with the troops of Mysore, the general hoped to be joined by the force which colonel Baillie was leading to action;

but Hyder prevented the junction, and ordered Tippoo Saheb, his son, to attack the colonel with twenty-five thousand horse and seven thousand foot. This great army assaulted about two thousand five hundred men, but suffered them to gain the victory. A detachment of two thousand men, under colonel Fletcher, now joined Baillie; and Hyder was advised by his chief officers to retreat, and recall Tippoo. Instead of complying with such inglorious advice, he enfiladed by batteries the roads along which his adversaries were expected to march; and, leaving a considerable force to watch the movements of Munro, he (on the 10th of September) advanced to overwhelm the devoted band.

The exertions of Baillie and his equally brave associate were for a time so successful, that Hyder and Tippoo, dispirited at the loss of their best troops, were preparing to retire from the field: but an accident revived their hopes. The explosion of tumbrils overturned the British artillery, and wasted the ammunition. Tippoo now rushed upon the sepoys with an overpowering force, and cut off almost the whole number. The Europeans, with swords and bayonets, still resisted; but Fletcher was killed, Baillie wounded; and only two hundred, beside their gallant commander, are said to have escaped the carnage.

The troops under Munro were so inflamed with a desire of retaliation, and so confident of checking the career of the foe, that they called upon the general to lead them to vengeance, to victory, and to glory. But, apprehensive of farther loss, he restrained their ardor, and slowly retreated; while the invaders, after the reduction of the capital of the Carnatic, prepared to prosecute their success.

From the southern parts of Asia we will call the attention of the reader, for a short time, to the north-

eastern boundaries of that quarter of the globe, where successive attempts were made for the discovery of a passage to Europe by the northern ocean. The captains Cook and Clerke had sailed from Plymouth, in the summer of the year 1776, principally for that purpose. They reached Van Dieman's Land in the January following; and found a well-wooded and not unpleasant country, and a race of savages seemingly mild, but very unenlightened. Proceeding to New Zealand, they kept the barbarous natives in awe, and escaped without injury. They discovered Mangeea and other well-inhabited islands in their way to Annamooka, where they procured, in return for nails and other trifling articles, an abundant supply of provisions. At Hapae and Tongataboo, they were entertained and amused in various modes with an attentive kindness worthy of nations more civilised than the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They re-examined Otaheite and the neighbouring isles; and, sailing to the northward, were surprised (early in 1778) at the sight of a considerable insular groupe, to which they gave the name of Sandwich. They found that the people were of the same race with the Otaheiteans, but, in some respects, more civilised.

After a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of these islands, the two captains pursued their course to North-America; and explored a long range of coast, without being gratified with the appearance of any river which could be expected, either by itself, or by a communication with other streams, to lead across the continent. Instead of finding a wide sea between those parts of America and Asia which are nearest to each other, they observed only a narrow channel of thirteen leagues, near the end of the 66th degree of northern latitude. They penetrated to the extent of five degrees

beyond that distance; but the ice precluded farther progress. They therefore sailed back, and wintered in the Sandwich Islands.

Captain Cook intended to return to the northward, to resume his survey of the north-eastern coast of Asia and north-western parts of America; but, while he remained at Owhyhee (in February 1779), a fatal accident occurred. The natives having carried off one of his cutters, he resolved to seize the king, and detain him on board as an hostage. As the chiefs, however, insisted on the continuance of their sovereign among them, he gave up the point, and was retiring to his ship, when intelligence arrived of the death of a chief, who had been shot in a contest between some of the English sailors and a party of the barbarians. The men now sent away the females, put on their war-mats, and commenced a conflict with spears, stones, and long spikes of iron. The captain killed one of the assailants; but when he turned to give directions to his men in the boats, and thus ceased to overawe the islanders by his aspect, he was stabbed in the back, and quickly slain, to the great regret of his countrymen.

Another attempt in search of the desired passage was made by the captains Clerke and Gore, in the same ships. Having visited the dreary region of Kamtchatka, they crossed over to the American coast, and reached the 70th degree of latitude; but their progress was impeded by a barrier of ice. Returning to the Asiatic coast, they sought an opening on that side, until they were wearied by a fruitless search, in which they had persevered while the least glimmering of hope remained. The crew of each ship felt the greatest joy when the determination of abandoning the pursuit was announced; but their joy received a temporary check from the death of captain Clerke. In the prosecution

of the homeward voyage, the intention of examining the Japanese archipelago could only be very imperfectly executed, as the weather proved extremely unfavorable. The ships returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and re-anchored on the English coast after an absence of above four years; during which, in consequence of the judicious regulations of captain Cook, better health prevailed among the men than in any former voyage of that extent and duration.

While this and other voyages tended to the improvement of navigation and astronomy, the latter science was cultivated in England with success, particularly by Herschel, a native of Germany, whom the king esteemed and patronized. In the progress of his observations, he discovered a star which had escaped the notice of former astronomers. He ascertained it to be a primary planet, belonging to the solar system, much larger than the earth which we inhabit. In honor of his majesty, he gave it the appellation of *Georgium Sidus*.

CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1780—1781.

THE Dutch had long been the allies of the English; but an exterior alliance is not always accompanied with cordial amity. Commercial jealousy and avarice pervaded their breasts; and they no sooner witnessed the rupture between Britain and her colonies, than they conceived the hope of profiting by the revolt. They were eager to enjoy the benefits of the American trade,

and to supply Europe with colonial produce. The French took every opportunity of propagating this envious spirit; and their ambassador, the duke de la Vauguyon, was incessantly employed in encouraging the mercantile and republican party, and promoting a confederacy with the Americans. The stadtholder, on the other hand, supported the interest of his Britannic majesty, and enforced the propriety of maintaining that alliance which was so requisite for the protection of the United Provinces. But his adversaries were more active and successful than his partisans. They studiously vilified his moral and political character, and, by their artful insinuations, greatly diminished his credit and popularity. They furnished the French with naval stores; and, from the island of St. Eustatius, carried on a commerce, mutually beneficial, with the Anglo-American provinces. To regulate and fix this traffic, they framed a treaty, by which, though it was not ratified in due form, both parties conducted their clandestine intercourse.

When the king required, from the republic, an execution of the treaty of alliance, no aid was granted to his solicitations. The memorials of sir Joseph Yorke were disregarded or resented; and, when Dutch ships were seised and detained for having contraband goods on board, loud complaints were made by the incensed merchants. The republican faction, headed by Van Berkel, became more bold and confident when the Russian empress, stimulated by the king of Prussia, promulgated a system more favorable to neutral powers than the established law of nations. She pretended that she had no wish to encourage the conveyance of *contraband* articles to any of the nations engaged in war; but insisted on such an explanation of that term as would confine it to few commodities; claimed a

free navigation, even from one port to another, on the coasts of the warring powers; and asserted the right of trading with a blockaded port, unless the ships of the enemy should be so numerous and so closely stationed, as to render approach evidently dangerous. For the maintenance of these regulations, she equipped a considerable fleet: the Danish and Swedish courts applauded her spirit, and followed her example; and, in case of molestation, each power engaged to assist the others in defence of maritime dignity.

The French and Spanish monarchs declared their acquiescence in these arrangements, because they were sensible that Great-Britain would lose in proportion as they would gain by the new association. The Dutch were very willing to concur in the confederacy: but they delayed that complete accession to it, by which they might have secured the aid of the northern powers; and, in the mean time, a discovery of the treaty with the Americans prompted the British court, after another fruitless application to the states-general, to declare war against the republic.

The parliament had been dissolved at the close of the summer; and the elections were sufficiently favorable to the ministry. The motion for the usual address excited a warm opposition to the continuance of the war with the Americans: but the courtiers, particularly lord George Germain, still affected to believe that the enemy would soon be reduced to submission. In one house the numbers for the address were, 203 to 134; in the other, 68 to 23.

A. D. 1781. The manifesto against Holland, being communicated to the two houses, produced animadversions on the violence of the court. Mr. Thomas Townshend disputed the necessity of a war with the United Provinces, and lamented that the ministers, in-

stead of finding an ally, had sought a new enemy. Mr. Wraxall, the historian, took this opportunity of recommending, in a pompous but feeble harangue, an alliance with the emperor of Germany. Mr. Fox accused the king's advisers of having done more mischief to the country, than any ministers under the worst princes of the Stuart family. The duke of Richmond and lord Camden vindicated the states-general from the charge of having aroused the just resentment of Great-Britain. They had been treated, said those peers, with arrogance and insolence, and driven into the arms of France.

Some attention was paid in this session to the affairs of Hindostan. Petitions were presented by the British inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, against the tyranny of the supreme court of judicature, of which also the natives (not without reason) complained in strong terms. General Smith and Mr. Rous stated, that the court had arbitrarily extended its jurisdiction, and encroached on the immemorial rights of those whom it ought to have protected against oppression; and they proposed the formation of a select committee to inquire into the grounds of complaint. The house agreed to the motion: and a statute was framed for the better regulation of judicial proceedings in the three provinces.

Three bills which would not have disgraced the wisdom of parliament, were rejected by the commons. That house had passed a bill, in the preceding year, for the exclusion of contractors; but the peers, not very willing to promote parliamentary freedom, refused to sanction the measure. Sir Philip Jennings Clarke revived it; but even the commons now declined its adoption. Another unsuccessful bill was directed against the votes of officers of the revenue, and was

introduced by Mr. Crewe. The third was that of Mr. Burke, for the regulation of his majesty's civil establishment, the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of useless places. Mr. de Grey, Mr. Perceval, and earl Nugent, argued against this bill; alleging, that it was unjust to resume what had been granted by parliament; that the attempt was disrespectful to the king, and the measure would be injurious to the constitution, as it would weaken the power and dignity of one of the three branches of the legislature. Lord Maitland forcibly recommended the bill; and Mr. William Pitt, son of the great minister who had elevated the name and glory of Britain, made his parliamentary *debut* in the same cause. Another young member, in a different debate, strongly excited the attention of the house. This was Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, grandson of the eccentric friend of dean Swift. He took a survey of the riots, which he attributed chiefly to the imperfection of the police of Westminster. To that cause also, he said, must be imputed the order for employing the soldiery without directions from the civil power; a dangerous remedy, which, however, useful in extraordinary cases, ought to be discountenanced by the parliament, that it might not be used on ordinary occasions as a measure strictly constitutional. To the defects of the same police must likewise be ascribed the establishment of military power, for four months, not only in the capital, but in every part of the realm. Having keenly satirised the ministry, he moved (but without effect) for a declaration of the impropriety and unconstitutionality of such an employment of the soldiery, unless when riots were so outrageous as to threaten the extinction of civil authority and regular government; and also for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of the magistrates of Westminster

during the late riots, and examine the state of the police in that city. Mr. Mansfield, the solicitor-general, vindicated the ministry, and defended an opinion which had been broached by the chief justice, intimating that, in case of an alarming riot, every man was bound to assist in the protection of the lives and property of his fellow-subjects, and even to make use of force for the restoration of tranquillity; and that a soldier, in attacking the turbulent rabble with arms, acted only as every other member of the community ought to act. This doctrine was censured by Mr. Sheridan and sir George Savile, as tending to legalise military usurpation, and pregnant with danger to public liberty.

The ministers found little difficulty in baffling, by the force of number, all the motions of the popular party. They procured the rejection of a petition from the *delegates* of several counties associated in the cause of economy and reform—not indeed so styling themselves, but merely assuming the designation of freeholders. They defeated the attempts that were made to stigmatise a loan which deserved strong censure for the extravagance of its terms, and the corruption which it involved. They would not agree to any inquiry into the state of the navy; and, when Mr. Fox, ably supported by Mr. Pitt, moved for an inquiry into the American war, with a view to a speedy peace, they exploded the proposition as disgraceful.

Taking into consideration the disastrous effects of a hurricane in the West-Indies, the house of commons voted pecuniary relief to the inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes. In the former island, the town of Savannah had been inundated and ruined by an extraordinary swell of the sea; and, in various districts, the tempest, aided by an earthquake, destroyed a great number of houses and other species of property.

Many hundreds of people also lost their lives amidst these convulsions of nature. In Barbadoes, the capital had scarcely a house standing. Grenada and other islands likewise suffered very serious injury; and the French colonial establishments were not exempt from the like visitation.

An inquiry was proposed by Mr. Burke into the grounds of a confiscation of property, which had taken place at St. Eustatius. That island was subject to the Dutch, who had rendered it a general emporium. It was strong by nature; but the consternation of the inhabitants at the unexpected appearance of a British armament, commanded by sir George Rodney and general Vaughan, produced a speedy submission to the clemency of the invaders, who, without hesitation, ordered the seizure of all property, private as well as public, regardless of the remonstrances of the people. The spoils were equivalent to three millions sterling, exclusive of some ships of war and one hundred and fifty mercantile vessels, many of which had valuable cargoes. Mr. Burke indignantly inveighed against the predatory injustice of the commanders, whose conduct, he said, disgraced their country, as it was inconsistent with humanity and repugnant to the law of nations: but it was observed, in reply, that the complainants, by supplying the French and the Americans with articles of illicit traffic, had forfeited all claim to that forbearance which would otherwise have been shown to them.

As the stadtholder was very unfriendly to the war with Great-Britain, the chief blame of ill success was imputed to him, and his confidential adviser, duke Louis of Brunswick; while they, on stronger grounds, blamed the states-general for having provoked a war, not only without justice, but at a time when a republic was ill

provided with the requisites of hostility, or the means of defence.

The Dutch having sent out eight large ships and ten frigates to protect their northern trade, an English fleet, consisting only of six sail of the line and five frigates, met the enemy (on the 5th of August) near the Doggerbank. Courage, rather than skill, marked the conflict. Neither Hyde Parker, nor Zoutman, captured a single vessel: but both squadrons suffered very considerable injury, and one of the Dutch ships foundered in the night. About one thousand men, in the fleet of the republic, were killed or wounded; and, to the great mortification of the states-general, their traders, being constrained to return, were precluded from an opportunity of procuring naval stores. In the British squadron, about four hundred and fifty men were deprived of life or harassed by wounds. The king honoured the admiral with a visit at the Nore; but this testimony of regard did not allay the disgust which he had conceived at the inadequacy of his force to the attainment of decisive success.

The British squadron in the channel being too weak to cope with the French and Spanish fleets, the idle parade of a former season was renewed by the enemy, who did not dare to attack the English in Torbay, and failed in all attempts for the interception of the homeward-bound commercial fleets.

The proximity of Jersey to the French coast having long excited a wish for its reduction, an attempt had been made for that purpose in 1779; but, as it proved abortive, it was renewed in the first week of the year 1781. The approaches to the chief town were so negligently guarded, that a body of French soldiers filled the market-place, when the majority of the inhabitants were yet in their beds. Corbet (who officiated for the

absent governor, general Conway,) was seized by the enemy; and an agreement for the surrender of the whole island was reluctantly signed by him. Major Pierson, having hastily collected a small force, disclaimed obedience to an extorted capitulation; and the French were attacked with a spirit which ensured success. Those who survived the conflict became prisoners; and the island was saved, but not without the loss of the brave and estimable officer whose exertions had opened the way to victory.

The French were more fortunate in the western hemisphere than in Europe. In the spring, one of their squadrons, attacked by vice-admiral Arbuthnot near the coast of Virginia, escaped defeat. The count de Grasse, with a more considerable fleet, being encountered by sir Samuel Hood near Martinique, prevented the English from gaining the advantage. The small island of St. Bartholomew was taken from the French; but this loss was over-balanced by their acquisition of Tobago, which, though defended with spirit, was reduced by the marquis de Bouillé, who also, in the autumn, re-captured St. Eustatius, and garrisoned it on behalf of the Dutch.

In the earlier part of the year, the possession of South-Carolina was actively disputed. General Greene, when Gates had been removed from his command, employed Morgan in acts of inferior hostility. To check this officer, Tarleton was sent with one thousand men; and, soon overtaking his adversary, he commenced an impetuous attack. He routed the first line with ease; prosecuted the advantage with his usual alacrity; and was flattering himself with the thought of having secured the victory, when the best troops of Morgan's corps, after a change of position which had the air of a retreat, attacked the too confident English, disordered

them by a galling fire, and completed their confusion by a vigorous use of the bayonet.

Lord Cornwallis, who had been desired to take an opportunity of pushing forward into North-Carolina and Virginia; that he might be joined or assisted by Arnold, severely felt the loss occasioned by this defeat: but, not discouraged, he marched toward the Catawba, passed it with small loss, pursued Greene with celerity, and drove him into Virginia. When Greene had returned, however, that he might obstruct the efficacy of the earl's endeavours to draw the people of North-Carolina to his standard, the English commander retreated.

When the American army in that province exceeded five thousand men, Greene hazarded an engagement in the spring, near Guildford. The risque, indeed, did not seem very alarming, as he had posted his force to advantage, and as Cornwallis had not two thousand men. The provincials of the front line fled at the first attack. Those of the second division fought for a time with spirit, but were at length put to flight. As the English were in danger of being out-flanked, they had extended themselves to the right and left, so as to form many distinct parties, irregularly pressing forward. Greene, hoping to triumph over them by the energy of his third line, consisting wholly of regular troops, now gave, with coolness and confidence, orders which he thought would be favourably decisive: but great was his mortification, when he witnessed the retreat of one of his regiments, and the consequent approach of a battalion of guards to the rear of another, which had been for some time engaged with colonel Webster's division. His hopes revived when the guards had recoiled, and Webster had been repelled: but he at length found that he could not prevent a general retreat. In the prevailing army, about five hundred and fifty men were killed,

wounded, or missing; the Americans lost about an equal number. The death of Webster, who did not long survive a wound which he received, was particularly lamented by the royalists.

Another conflict soon followed. While Cornwallis was advancing into Virginia, lord Rawdon, menaced at Camden with an attack from Greene, led a small corps from that post against the strongest part of the American camp at Hobkirk-hill, and threw the enemy into confusion by a sudden assault. Greene, having rallied his men, endeavoured to surround the assailants, as his force more than doubled their number: but his politic antagonist, extending his ranks in one line, baffled the intention by an attack which proved victorious. The provincials afterwards invested Fort Ninety-Six; but the English defended the post with great courage and perseverance; and the siege was raised on the approach of lord Rawdon. When that gallant officer had been succeeded by colonel Stuart, a well contested battle took place at Eutaw. The British left division fell into great disorder, and even lost its artillery: but the men were again brought into action by the exertions of their officers. The right repelled the foe, and made great havock. A severe loss was also sustained by the Americans, in the course of an attack upon a large house and grounds, occupied chiefly by New-York royalists, who maintained the post against every effort. The English justly claimed the victory; but their loss was considerable. They retired toward Charles-town, while Greene took post on some hills near the Santee.

The commander in chief, during this campaign, seemed more anxious for the preservation of New-York than for any other object. Washington, being joined by a French army under the count de Rochambeau, threatened that city with an attack; and he still pre-

tended to be so disposed, after he had altered his purpose, and fixed upon a southern expedition. Before we relate the important result of his new determination, it will be proper to make concise mention of the proceedings of Arnold and Philips on the one hand, and of the marquis de la Fayette on the other, in the province of Virginia.

The active brigadier injured his former friends by the destruction of valuable stores, and of ships richly laden; and then fixed his camp at Portsmouth, on Elizabeth river. Here he was blocked up by a French squadron, while the marquis harassed him by land. Major-general Philips committed farther ravages in the province, but died in the course of his operations. After the arrival of Cornwallis, the troops pursued la Fayette, and greatly distressed the Americans by pillage and devastation.

Desirous of profiting so effectually by the French alliance, as to rescue and relieve the provincials from the dangers and difficulties to which they were still exposed, Washington stated to Rochambeau the necessity of acting with extraordinary vigor; and it was determined between them, that Virginia should be the scene of operations. Clinton, deceived by letters written with a view of being intercepted, was so weak as to imagine that the reduction of New-York was still the aim of the confederates, and therefore neglected such measures as might baffle their altered intentions.

A small army, conveyed to the Virginian coast by the count de Grasse, joined la Fayette, after he and general Wayne had unsuccessfully attacked an English detachment. The count then blocked up York river with a part of his fleet, leaving twenty-four sail of the line in a bay near the entrance of the Chesapeake. Some of these

ships were brought to action by admiral Graves, who could not obtain any advantage in the conflict.

The Americans, and their Gallie confederates, were now intent on the ruin or the capture of the army under Cornwallis. He had fortified the town of York, and Gloucester-Point on the opposite bank ; and his batteries commanded the passage over York river. When the allies had advanced from Williamsburgh, and had taken different positions near York, the earl drew his men from the exterior posts, and concentrated his force within the works of the town. While Gloucester-Point was subjected to a blockade, preparations were made for a vigorous siege of York. The batteries soon had a considerable effect on the works, and also on the vessels in the harbour, some of which were entirely destroyed. As the fire of two redoubts severely annoyed the besiegers, an impetuous assault was made upon each ; and they were added to the works of the confederates, who, having completed a second parallel, looked forward to the speedy accomplishment of their wishes. The sallies of the garrison gave little obstruction to the siege ; and the earl at length found that his fortifications were in so ruinous a condition, as to be utterly inadequate to the defence of the town. Having made a fruitless attempt to escape across York river, he capitulated to avoid the destruction of his army. His terms not being accepted, he was obliged to acquiesce in those of Washington ; and (on the 19th of October) about five thousand five hundred soldiers became prisoners to the Americans, while three ships of war and a great number of transports, with the seamen, were surrendered to the French.

The capture of a second army animated the hopes of the Americans, and promised such a decision of the

great contest, as would establish that independence for which they had so long hazarded their lives. The intelligence confounded the cabinet, and spread dismay and despondency among the ministerial ranks in parliament. Yet there were some courtiers, who, with incorrigible obstinacy, still cherished the expectation of subjugating the colonies. Those who maintained such an opinion were encouraged by the boastful declaration of sir Henry Clinton, importing that, if he could obtain a reinforcement of ten thousand men, he had no doubt of extinguishing the rebellion. An historian of this reign seems to concur in the idle and fallacious boast, which came with an ill grace from a commander whose blindness had precipitated the fate of Cornwallis.

The arms of Spain, in the same year, prospered on the American continent. West-Florida was again invaded; and Pensacola was invested both by land and sea. The besiegers were so slow in their operations, that almost two months elapsed before they had made such an impression upon the works as to be inclined to risque a general assault. An accident hastened the capitulation. A shell entering a magazine, the powder exploded with the loss of many lives; and one of the redoubts became a heap of rubbish. Considering the rest of the works as not tenable against a considerable force, amply provided with artillery, the commandant desired a parley; and it was agreed that he and the garrison should be prisoners of war.

In Europe, the Spaniards were unable to reduce a barren rock which the English formerly had taken with ease. They continued to block up Gibraltar, and prevailed upon the despot of Morocco to withhold supplies from the garrison. At length, however, a great quantity of provisions and stores were introduced into the fortress, by a fleet which the enemy only attacked

with the petty hostilities of gun-boats. A vigorous siege was now prosecuted : numerous batteries played upon the fortress ; and strong works were raised at a short distance from the walls. The fortifications of the place, however, were repaired almost as soon as they were injured ; and the sacrifice of lives proved less considerable than the great discharge of balls and shells gave reason to apprehend.

The governor of Gibraltar was the gallant Eliot, who had distinguished himself in the German campaigns of the preceding war. When the besiegers, with persevering labor and extraordinary expence, had extended and improved the works, he resolved to make a bold attempt for their demolition. A select body of two thousand three hundred men, sailors included, marched out of the fortress some hours before day-break (on the 27th of November), and assaulted the works with such impetuosity, that the Spaniards, after a short and irregular fire, fled on all sides. The pioneers and artillerists now spread their fire with great rapidity ; and two batteries of mortars, three of cannon, and all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames. The fire reached the magazines, which soon blew up ; and the conflagration and havock appalled the astonished enemy.

The hopes which his catholic majesty had conceived of the recovery of Minorca had a better foundation. Fort St. Philip was insufficiently garrisoned ; and the invading army amounted to sixteen thousand men, well furnished with all the requisites of a siege. The duke de Crillon, the chief commander of the combined force, endeavoured to procure the surrender of the island by the meanness of corruption ; but general Murray scornfully rejected the degrading offer. The siege was well conducted ; and the defenders manifested equal spirit, until the ravages of disease so diminished the effective

force of the garrison, that the fortress could no longer be defended. A capitulation was then adjusted; and the men, after being allowed to march out with the exterior honors of war, were obliged to pile their arms, and considered as prisoners. They left a large supply of various articles of provision in the fort; but the want of fresh meat and vegetables, and of free air, had produced the scurvy, a putrid fever, and the dysentery. Notwithstanding these obstacles to a long defence, the governor protracted it from August to the February following, so as to excite the admiration of the besiegers, while he severely exercised their patience.

The British government thinking that the Cape of Good Hope might be easily reduced; had sent out an armament under Johnstone. This commander suffered himself to be surprised at Praya (a port belonging to one of the Cape-Verd islands) by M. de Suffrein; but, although he did not evince great skill in his arrangements, or keep his squadron in good order, he compelled the French commodore to retire with loss. As Suffrein, soon after, reinforced the Dutch garrison at the Cape, Johnstone did not attack that settlement; but, in the bay of Saldanha, he met with five ships bound from India to Holland, containing valuable cargoes. He took four of these, while the other was burned by the crew.

Another maritime occurrence remains to be mentioned. The French court having detached a fleet from Brest, with troops and stores under its convoy, rear-admiral Kempenfelt descried the armament within thirty-five leagues of the isle of Ushant; but, as the count de Guichen had a very superior force, the British squadron, without hazarding an engagement, could only take fourteen transports, which, beside artillery and stores, had on board sixteen hundred soldiers and seamen.

CHAPTER X.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1781—1788.

It has been frequently and peremptorily affirmed, that the American war was popular, at the beginning and in the progress of the contest: but this assertion is destitute of proof. A great number of persons, beside the court, undoubtedly favored the authority of parliament; but the opposers of the war seem to have been more numerous, both among the middle and the lower classes, although the minister, by securing a majority in each house, "made the worse appear the better cause." At length, the ill success of the war, and the enormous expence with which, even defeat and disaster were purchased, opened the eyes of many senators, supposed to be independent, who yet had blindly supported the measures of the cabinet; and they resolved to exert their influence in promoting the return of peace.

The effect of this change of opinion did not appear in the parliamentary divisions at the beginning of the new session; for the court had still a very considerable majority. The opposing party wished to render the address less courtly than it had usually been; and even endeavoured to obstruct the grant of supplies: but the country gentlemen would not vote against the ministry on either of those questions. When sir James Lowther, however, proposed that the commons should reprobate the prosecution of the American war, many of those who had originally promoted the views of the court, condemned by their altered votes the impolitic system: yet a majority of forty-one voices rejected the motion.

In the other house, it was moved that the supplies should be withheld until the king should discard his ministers, whose absurd conduct and mischievous proceedings were severely satirised by the marquis of Rockingham and the duke of Chandos: but the generality of the peers disapproved this suggestion. The misconducters of the national affairs were still more acrimoniously censured by Mr. Fox, when he moved for a D. a committee (to which lord North agreed) to inquire into the causes of the ill success of the navy. He afterwards urged the friends of their country to declare, that the business of the navy had been grossly mismanaged in the preceding year; and he was pleased to find that the ministry had only a majority of twenty-two against him. When he renewed the motion with the hope of drawing off some of its opposers, the house rejected it by a plurality of only nineteen votes.

The decision of the grand dispute, respecting the contest with the Americans now approached. General Conway deprecated the continuance of so unjust and calamitous a war, and conjured the house to agree to an address, requesting that his majesty would no longer suffer the war to be pursued on the continent of North-America (as the purpose of reducing that country to obedience by force was obviously impracticable), and would endeavour to effect a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies. Lord North and Mr. Adams maintained, that it was impolitic to vote what might be construed into an acknowledgement of weakness and want of resources for continuing the war, as such conduct would increase the arrogance of all the enemies of Great-Britain, and lead to a dishonourable peace. The parties were so near to an equality, that the votes for the address were 193, while the ministerial suffrages were 194.

Encouraged by this prospect of success, Mr. Conway, (on the 27th of February) moved for a decisive vote against the war. As Mr. Adam had pronounced such an interference of the house to be unconstitutional, the general obviated that objection by referring to numerous instances of the offer of parliamentary advice to the crown on the subject of war or peace. Lord North allowed, that the motion was not repugnant to constitutional principles; but he contended that it would obstruct rather than promote that peace, which the king had declared (at the close of the last session) to be the earnest wish of his heart. A truce with America was proposed by Wallace, the attorney-general, who also moved that the debate should be adjourned for a fortnight. For this delay only 215 members voted, and 234 against it: consequently, a majority of nineteen approved the motion of the patriotic general.

This vote confounded the court, and gave extraordinary pleasure to the popular party. The avenues of the house resounded with congratulations; and the joy of success was rapidly diffused over the kingdom. The triumph, indeed, was not yet complete; for there was a possibility that the court might recover a majority. But, as this was not a probable event, the people indulged themselves with a prospect of the expulsion of ministers as incapable as they were rash, as blind as they were presumptuous—who had blundered and mismanaged from year to year, deluded and corrupted the parliament, burthened and impoverished the nation. Of the opposers of lord North and his associates, many were certainly influenced by a spirit of faction: but the gratified public thought more of the effect than of the motives. It was generally allowed, that worse pilots could not easily be found: it was therefore readily concluded, that the helm would be put under more skilful

guidance, by which the vessel of the state might be rescued from danger.

When an address, corresponding with the late resolution, had been presented to the king, he was advised to give an answer indicative of a wish for peace, rather than one which promised a strict compliance with the vote of the house. Apprehending that the ministers might endeavour to evade the injunctions of the commons, Mr. Conway moved for an address, which, in thanking his majesty for his answer, re-urged the specific object of the vote; and also for a declaration, stigmatising, as enemies to their sovereign and country, all who should recommend or attempt the prosecution of offensive war against the American provincials. Both these proposals were adopted without a division. The attorney-general then moved for leave to introduce a bill which might enable the king to conclude a peace or truce with the colonies. Mr. Fox ridiculed this expedient; and affirmed that the ministers had no wish for peace, and no intention of resigning their employments. They were, he said, unqualified to carry on war or adjust a treaty of peace. He was willing to act even an inferior part in a negotiation; but, if he should coalesce with any of the members of the cabinet, he would be content to be considered as the most infamous of mankind. Lord North vindicated himself against the aspersions upon his character, and declared his readiness to resign if his sovereign should command him to retire, or if the house should unequivocally withdraw its confidence from him. Resolutions tending to the latter object were moved by lord John Cavendish and sir John Rous, and strongly supported. In one of these debates, sir James Marriott, judge of the admiralty, defended the war, and amused the house with a wonderful discovery, intimating that the colonists were represented in par-

liament by the members for Kent, as their territories, according to the terms of their charters, were holden of the manor of East-Gracwich. Even the gravity of the judge could not repress general laughter. The motions were rejected by a plurality of ten, and of nine; but the ministry did not deem such majorities sufficient to secure their power; and, when the earl of Surrey was on the point of addressing the house for the promotion of the desired change, lord North declared that the administration was dissolved. He thanked the commons for the long support with which they had honored him: asserted his constant desire of contributing to the welfare of his country; and promised that he would not shrink from any inquiry into his official conduct. On this occasion, he received compliments, as might have been expected, from some of his adherents: and even one of his chief adversaries reprimanded some members of the victorious party for exulting in his defeat.

The ministerial arrangements were not immediately adjusted, as they required serious consideration. In the first place, lord Camden was (on the 27th of March) constituted president of the council, and the duke of Grafton keeper of the privy seal. The new secretaries of state were the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox. The marquis of Rockingham was commissioned to preside at the board of treasury; and lord John Cavendish obtained the office of chancellor of the exchequer. The new director of the admiralty was Keppel; and the treasurer of the navy was colonel Barré. General Conway was appointed commander in chief of the land forces; and Mr. Burke, paymaster.

Lord North was not destitute of talents, wit, or learning; but he did not possess the acute penetration or the sound judgement of a great statesman. He was an intelligent financier; but some of the taxes which he de-

vised were partial and injudicious. As a war minister, he did not shine: his errors exposed him to ridicule, and his misconduct deserved great censure. If, as has been asserted, he entered into the American war in repugnance to his private opinion, and suffered a court-favourite to direct him, we may justly blame his mean servility and time-serving hypocrisy. We think, however, that, whatever truth there may be in the report of his subserviency to a power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself, the war was of that description which suited his prejudices. In private life he claimed the praise of good nature and humanity; he was a pleasant companion, and a benevolent friend.

The first act of Mr. Fox, after he had driven lord North from the helm, was the offer of a separate peace to the states-general, through the mediation of the empress of Russia, who admired the abilities and character of the popular secretary: but the French party procured a rejection of the proposal. The earl of Shelburne had frequently professed himself hostile to the independence of the American provinces; but he gave way to the general opinion of his associates; and it was now intimated, that this point would be conceded. Mr. Thomas Grenville was sent to France to open a treaty; and the public hailed the prospect of a speedy pacification.

The concerns of Ireland required the early attention of the new cabinet. Meetings had been holden in various counties of that realm, and instructions given by the electors to the representatives for various objects of reform, but principally for the emancipation of the lords and commons from the authority of the British parliament. The volunteer associations strenuously promoted the claim of independence; and Mr. Grattan, one of the most eloquent members of the Hibernian senate, moved for an address to the king against the high pri-

tentions of the legislature of Great-Britain. He failed in the first attempt, but succeeded on a renewal of his endeavours after the change of the ministry. Pleased with his patriotic zeal, the commons rewarded him with fifty thousand pounds. This subject had already been brought forward at Westminster by Mr. Eden, who, being of opinion that a country, sufficiently enlightened to make laws for itself, ought to possess such a power without control, moved for a repeal of the statute by which Ireland was in that respect fettered. Mr. Fox, offended at what he termed the indecent hurry of the mover, who wished to acquire popularity at the expence of the new ministry, desired him to withdraw the motion; and, on the following day, the secretary delivered a royal message, recommending such an adjustment as might give satisfaction to both kingdoms. After a delay of five weeks, he proposed that the wish of the people of Ireland should be gratified, not only from a regard to justice, but also because prudence and policy seemed to dictate acquiescence. It was hinted, that the mere abrogation of the controlling act would not unequivocally decide the dispute; but both houses deemed the repeal sufficient; and (on the 20th of June) a bill was enacted for that purpose, for which the Irish parliament thanked his majesty, although it did not give general satisfaction.

This session produced some acts restrictive of royal and ministerial influence. The two bills, against contractors and officers of the revenue, were revived and enacted, notwithstanding all the efforts of the chancellor Thurlow for the overthrow of the former, and of lord Mansfield for the rejection of both. Mr. Burke's bill for the reform of the expenditure of the civil list, and for the extinction of various offices, also proved successful. It was introduced by a message from the king,

suggesting the propriety of strict economy: but some of the members, and the public in general, complained of its imperfection; and, as it provided for the discharge of new debts contracted by his majesty, it was more *delusive* than beneficial.

The right of free election was strengthened by the success of Wilkes, who renewed a motion (which he had frequently tried without effect) for expunging from the journals the resolutions concerning the Middlesex election. Mr. Fox, *the man of the people*, resisted this reasonable proposition; which, however, was supported by a majority of 68. The purity of the elective branch of the constitution was also promoted by an act for disfranchising many corrupt voters of Cricklade, and extending the right of suffrage to the freeholders of the hundred. The lords Thurlow and Mansfield opposed this bill; but it was ably defended by sir Fletcher Norton and Mr. Dunning (who had been created barons of Grantley and Ashburton on the recommendation of the new ministers), and likewise by the duke of Richmond, who reprehended the former peers for acting as mere lawyers rather than as patriots.

Amidst the freedom of political thought which now prevailed, a reform of the parliamentary representation appeared, in the opinion of many reflecting persons, a very desirable measure. Some enthusiasts in the popular cause recommended a grant of the right of voting to male adults of every description; but this, if not absolutely impracticable, might be productive of disorder and confusion; and, as it would include the lowest members of the community, who are, for the most part, incapable of judging of the merits of a candidate, and are likely to be influenced by intriguing and factious men, it might have a tendency diametrically opposite to genuine reformation and constitutional purity. This extreme would

be more pernicious than a paucity of electors ; and a middle course would be the most rational mode of adjustment. The number of voters might be considerably enlarged without inconvenience or danger ; and, at the same time, their qualifications might be so regulated as to afford a fair prospect of a general capability or competence of prudent choice. The number of respectable voters being thus augmented, there would be a great diminution of courtly and aristocratic influence, and a better chance of conformity between the opinion of the house of commons and that of the people.

The provincial delegates had included this branch among their objects of reform ; and the cause was sanctioned by many distinguished names. Referring to the sentiments of the earl of Chatham, who had pronounced a reform of this kind to be requisite for securing constitutional liberty, Mr. Pitt addressed the commons upon the subject. He affirmed, that an assembly, intended to represent the popular part of the nation, had so far declined from the object of its institution, and so far deviated from its original direction, that a due connexion was not preserved between the house and the public, the members in general being more influenced by the crown or the aristocracy than by the opinions or wishes of the people. Many boroughs, he said, had not a single quality of representation in them ; but the most dangerous were those in which the votes were constantly *brought to market*. Such places ought to be disfranchised, or at least reformed ; and, to the list of members for counties, an addition might be made with propriety and advantage. He requested that the house would permit this important subject to be investigated by a committee, with a view to a moderate reform. Mr. Fox objected to the present representation, which, he said, was not equal, regular, or strictly constitutional : he

therefore wished for a deliberate inquiry into the best mode of improving it. Mr. Powys could not see the least utility in an examination or revisal of a system which had stood the test of ages. Mr. Thomas Pitt ridiculed the idea of equal representation, and affirmed that nothing of that kind was intended by the framers or improvers of the constitution; and Mr. Dundas was of opinion, that the inquiry did not promise any real benefit, and might lead to evil. By a small majority, the proposal was rejected.

A secret committee had been appointed to scrutinise the abuses in the government of India; and, when several reports had been presented to the house, Mr. Dundas reviewed the affairs of the company, and the conduct of its servants, with perspicuity and ability. He reprobated that spirit of ambition which had provoked the native powers, in the hope of profiting in point of territory by the contest; that perfidy which had produced frequent violations of treaty; that prodigality which had embarrassed and distressed the company; and that general misgovernment which had seriously injured the interests of our Asiatic establishments. Many resolutions were voted, stating acts of gross misconduct; and it was the opinion of the house, that Mr. Hastings, the chief justice Impey, and Hornby (governor of Bombay), ought to be recalled from India.

Amidst the parliamentary deliberations, intelligence of great naval success arrived. Admiral Rodney was preparing to act with spirit in the West Indies, when he was informed that the island of St. Christopher was in danger. The marquis de Bouillé, having taken Nevis and Montserrat, attacked St. Christopher's with a force which could not easily be withstood. The chief town being indefensible, brigadier Fraser posted on Brimstone-hill the few troops that he had under his command,

and, during four weeks, sustained a regular siege. Sir Samuel Hood engaged the count de Grasse, and prevented him from co-operating with the marquis, but could not save the island. When he had joined Rodney, a defeat of the French fleet became necessary for the security of Jamaica. M. de Grasse endeavoured to avoid an engagement, that he might afford time for a Spanish armament to join him; with the aid of which, he thought, he might dispossess the English of all their remaining islands: but he was too sanguine in his expectations. Rodney having approached the French between Dominique and Guadaloupe, Hood brought a part of their fleet to action; but they found an opportunity of retiring. In the pursuit, one of the count's ships being threatened with capture, he imprudently bore down with his whole fleet for her protection, and thus furnished his more politic adversary with the means of forcing him into a conflict.

Signals being given by the admiral for close fighting, Drake's division (on the 12th of April) began the engagement with the usual display of British courage. Every gun had its effect, as the enemy's ships were thronged both with seamen and soldiers. Affleck led the central division with equal gallantry; and Hood, though for some time becalmed, at length conducted the rear to a share in the glories of the day. The French had only thirty-three ships of the line, against thirty-six; but they had an equal weight of metal, and they fought for eleven hours with great obstinacy, long after Rodney, by breaking their line, had secured the success of his fleet.

The English purchased this victory with the loss of two hundred and thirty lives, as stated in the official account; but, of the seven hundred and fifty-nine who were mentioned as only wounded, many died soon after.

ward. Above two thousand of the French were killed, and four thousand wounded. The *Ville de Paris*, the flag-ship of M. de Grasse, was taken with the admiral himself: three others were brought away: a ship of the line was sunk during the action; one blew up after being captured; and Hood took two in the following week: but, of the prizes thus obtained, three foundered in the sequel.

As Rodney was more attached to the Tories than to the Whigs, the new directors of the national affairs intended to call him to an account for the acts of rapine committed at St. Eustatius; and they had sent an order for his resignation of the command of the fleet to Pigot, before they were acquainted with his victory. Mr. Fox, however, condescended to move for a vote of thanks to the admiral, who was also ennobled, and rewarded with a pension. Some members wished to stigmatise the ministry for having recalled sir George; but the motions to that effect were exploded.

Peace was not yet restored to the nation, when the marquis of Rockingham died. He was a man of ordinary understanding rather than of shining talents: he loved his country, and studiously promoted what he considered as its true interests: he was just and honourable in his intercourse with the world; mild, liberal, and humane.

The death of this nobleman dissolved the union of the ministry. The earl of Shelburne, who, with greater abilities, had less influence over the party than the marquis possessed, courted the smiles of his sovereign, and was removed to the station of first lord of the treasury. Mr. Fox, who was disposed to be *aut Cesar aut nullus*, wished to act as prime minister, while he retained the office of secretary of state; but, being disappointed in that hope by the earl's procurement of the

post for which *he* would have recommended the duke of Portland, he abruptly resigned the seals. His chief friends followed his example, and again became the determined adversaries of the court. The earl affected to disregard the secession of the offended politicians with whom he had acted ; but they entertained sanguine hopes of shortening the term of his administration.

In a debate which followed the earl's promotion, Mr. Fox endeavoured to convince the house of commons, that nothing but a sincere regard for his country had induced him to resign ; while Mr. Pitt insinuated, that the secession arose from mortified ambition rather than from genuine patriotism. This young orator had been neglected in the disposal of places, on the retreat of lord North ; but he was now appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Shelburne, affirming that he attended more to measures than to men, imputed the late resignations to an opposite principle, which sought men in preference to measures, and to a domineering spirit of party, which had endeavoured to reduce the king to a state of vassalage.

The pacific views of the cabinet were announced to the American general by Carleton (who had become commander in chief), and admiral Digby. This intimation, although it was received with contempt, produced a state of inaction.

The French and Spaniards threatened to inflict serious injury on Great-Britain ; but their menaces proved mere gasconades. They made extraordinary efforts for the reduction of Gibraltar, which, they thought, would not be able to withstand their new scheme of attack. They prepared ten large battering-ships, so constructed, in the opinion of the builders, as to defy the bombs and balls of the garrison. The governor beheld these and other preparations without the least sensation of

fear, and destroyed some of the advanced works by a vigorous fire. The enemy, irritated and incensed, kept up for several days a tremendous cannonade from all the land-batteries, aided by frequent discharges from the ships and gun-boats. At length (on the 13th of September), the grand experiment was hazarded, within view of a numerous army, commanded by the duke de Crillon. Thirty Spanish ships of the line, and fourteen French, were then in the bay. The floating machines were moored within half gun-shot of the walls; and the roar of artillery echoed around. For many hours no impression seemed to be made on the battering-vessels: but in the night, when the firing of both parties had abated, the effect of the heated balls, sent from the rock, appeared in the most awful form. The ship of commodore Moreno, and another of the new vessels, were in flames; and, amidst the confusion which now arose, the English gun-boats prevented the boats of the enemy from assisting the distressed occupants of the battering-ships, all of which were at length on fire. When the victory was thus secured, the humane conquerors were eager to rescue their adversaries from destruction. Many were floating upon fragments of wood, others were swimming, and a considerable number remained in the burning ships. It was extremely dangerous to attempt to afford relief; for the guns, heated by the flames, poured forth their combustible contents, and the vessels were gradually approaching the point of explosion. The Captains Curtis and Knowles, however, and a party of intrepid seamen, saved above three hundred and fifty individuals. From the beginning of the attack to the close of hostility on the morning of the second day, about one thousand of the enemy were shot, burned, or drowned, while the garrison suffered a very small loss.

For this resolute defence, and these extraordinary exertions, Eliot merited and received the highest applause. He was pensioned for his services, created a knight of the Bath, and subsequently enrolled among the peers of Great-Britain.

After the renewal of the blockade, lord Howe entitled himself to praise, for maintaining the honor of the English flag. In the face of an enemy who had the advantage of the wind as well as a great superiority of force, and yet only dared to keep up a distant cannonade, he supplied Gibraltar with ample stores and a military reinforcement.

In the east, British valor was also displayed, though it was not in every instance successful. As soon as the defeat of colonel Baillie was known at Calcutta, sir Eyre Coote was requested by the council to hasten to Madras, with a body of Europeans, that the enemy might be more effectually opposed. Having taken measures for the security of that settlement, and for the restoration of order both in military and civil affairs, he re-took Carangoli, and intimidated the besiegers of other towns into a discontinuance of their attempts. He was long precluded, by the caution of Hyder Ali, from an opportunity of general action : but, when that commander had been considerably reinforced, the two armies (on the 1st of July, 1781), engaged between Porto-Novo and Mooteapollam.

The force of Hyder exceeded eighty thousand men, who were defended by strong works, and whose discipline had been improved by the instruction of French officers. The garrison of Chillumbrum having driven off a party of assailants, he was so elate, that he fully expected victory in the approaching battle. Coote had only seven thousand five hundred men to act against the numerous host of Mysore ; but he did not despair

of success. He attacked the left wing obliquely, with such energy and skill, that disorder began to spread among the hostile ranks: yet the resistance was long and spirited. His second line found great difficulty in repelling many violent assaults. An attempt to penetrate between his lines, and another to surround his small army, exposed him to serious danger: but, after a contest of seven hours, he triumphed over all opposition. About three thousand five hundred of Hyder's men were slain; and his favorite general received a mortal wound.

When sir Eyre Coote had received a reinforcement sent by Hastings, he invested Tripassour, and reduced it at the very time when the van of Hyder's army, strengthened by recent additions, approached the town in the hope of relieving it. As the English and the sepoys advanced, the Mysoreans receded, until they reached a strong position. Here they were attacked by Coote, though he was obliged to form his front under a very heavy cannonade both from batteries and the enemy's line. After a long conflict, he was again victorious.

The opposite armies had a third engagement near Sholingour. Hyder was again compelled to retreat with considerable loss; but, in all these actions, he secured his artillery and stores. He afterward encountered the same troops in a desultory fight; and, again, sir Eyre had the advantage.

In the same year, the English met with success against the Mahrattas. They invaded the province of Malva, and routed the army of Madajee Scindia, who at length agreed to a separate peace.

In the following year, Tippoo, with fifteen thousand of his countrymen, and a small body of French, approached the Coleroon, and assaulted about two thousand three hundred men, whom he could not vanquish

before the third day shone upon the combatants. He then carried off, as captives, all who survived the defeat. The Mysoreans were soon after joined by a well-disciplined force, from the fleet of M. de Suffrein; and Cudalour was taken by the confederates, who also reduced Permacoli.

At Arnee, in the Carnatic, another contest occurred (in June) between sir Eyre Coote and Hyder Ali. The army of the latter had the advantage in every point and circumstance, except valor and discipline. The troops commanded by the former were harassed by a brisk cannonade, while the arrangements for battle were unfixed; but when sir Eyre had so disposed his small force as to prevent it from being overwhelmed, he put the enemy to flight. Hyder, however, some days afterward, drew a body of his adversaries into an ambuscade, and destroyed or captured the whole party. The two commanders met no more. Hyder died before the end of the year; and sir Eyre, in the following spring, resigned his breath, with the character of an intrepid and skilful general, an amiable and respectable man.

Hyder Ali was the first Mohammedan who ruled in Mysore. At the age of twenty years, he obtained the command of a body of infantry in the service of the rajah of Seringapatam; and, being endowed with great talents, he soon distinguished himself in the arts of war and government. He acted for many years as the chief adviser of Gorachuri, the prime minister of the rajah; but was at length prompted by ambition to throw off all control. Having acquired a great influence over the army by address and liberality, he seized the minister, put him to death, and enforced the submission of the rajah) from whom he received, for himself and his heirs, a grant of the office of political director. He thus became the actual sovereign of Seringapatam and its de-

pendencies, while the rajah, though honored with exterior respect, was a mere prisoner of state. Not content with the Mysorean territories, he undertook many warlike expeditions, and at length extended his dominion from Visapour to Madoura. He governed with wisdom and ability, personally inspected every department of administration, and considerably improved the state of the country. He was frank and affable in his manners, cheerful and entertaining in his conversation, and occasionally kind and friendly : but he had a strong tincture of cruelty in his disposition, and was capable of great enormities. The sultan Tippoo, who succeeded him in his usurpation, had fewer virtues and greater vices.

While sir Eyre Coote checked the progress of Hyder, sir Edward Hughes had inflicted some injury on that enterprising enemy of the English, by the destruction of vessels in some of his ports. The admiral then proceeded to the coast of Coromandel ; and, although the garrison of Negapatam had been reinforced by a detachment of Mysoreans, and the works had received additional strength, he resolved, in concert with the troops under Monro, to attack that important settlement. The advanced fortifications were stormed ; and after a short siege, the place was taken.

A farther loss was soon sustained by the Dutch. The fleet having reached Ceylon, a body of sepoys, aided by a party of seamen and marines, took by assault the fort of Trincomalè ; and, to this conquest, Ostenburg was quickly added. Sir Edward afterward encountered M. de Suffrein ; but the engagement was more honorable than advantageous to the former.

When the British admiral had augmented his force, he again met Suffrein, who still having a superior fleet, courted a new collision. Near the bay of Trincomalè, the French commander, who had the advantage of the

wind and of situation, advanced to a close conflict. The battle raged for five hours; and then the enemy drew off in great disorder.

These brave antagonists met a third time; and Haghès had a fair prospect of victory, but was disappointed by a sudden change of the wind. A French ship struck her colors; but, instead of actually surrendering, fired into the opposing vessel, and found an opportunity of escaping.

Taking advantage of the absence of the English fleet, the French re-took Trincomalè. Hughes, returning to the isle of Celon, resolved to make another attempt for the total defeat of the enemy. He had eleven sail of the line, and one ship of 50 guns; while Suffrein had twelve of the former and three of the latter description. The engagement soon became general, and was very brisk and spirited. Of the French, above a thousand were killed or wounded; of the English, not more than three hundred and fifty. In the former conflict near Trincomalè, there was a much greater effusion of blood.

In the spring of this year, Scindia mediated a pacification with the Mahratta state. It was agreed, that Salsette and some neighbouring islands should be ceded to the India company; that Ragonaut Rao should receive, from the peishwa, a pension for his support, and be no longer protected by the English; that all his stipulations in their favour should be annulled; that neither party should in any way assist the enemies of the other; and that the sultan of Mysore should be compelled to relinquish every town or district which he had taken from the company or its allies.

The Mysoreans not being yet disposed to peace, the English resolved to attack them with redoubled vigor. Colonel Humberston met with success in the kingdom of Calicut and the adjoining territories; but he failed in

the siege of Paligatcheri, and was obliged to retreat to Panian, where the troops, reinforced and commanded by Macleod, were assaulted by Tippoo and M. Lally, whom, however, they repelled, by the extraordinary exertions of a small body of combatants against a numerous host.

An army under Matthews now invaded the territory of Canara, which had been subdued by Hyder long before his war with the English. He took Onour by storm (in January 1783), and suffered his troops to treat the vanquished with cruelty. He reduced Hydernagour, Mangalour, and other towns and fortresses. He was, however, defeated by Tippoo near the former place, and obliged to trust to the strength of the citadel, until the progress of the besiegers rendered a capitulation advisable. The terms were violated by the sultan, who, accusing Matthews of having robbed the fort of all its valuable contents, put him and some of his officers to death. He then formed the siege of Mangalour, and continued it even to the year 1784, when peace was concluded on the basis of reciprocal restitution.

The negotiations between the British and French courts were carried on during the greater part of the year 1782; and they were not brought to a conclusion before the parliament re-assembled. The king then informed the two houses, that provisional articles had been adjusted with the American states; whose independence, with a reluctance which nothing but the wishes of his people could subdue, he had promised to acknowledge in the definitive treaty. Mr. Fox having expressed a desire of knowing the precise terms in which independence had been offered (for he wished it to be granted absolutely and unconditionally, not as the price of peace), Mr. Pitt would not agree to the production of any part of the preliminary agreement, but intimated that so great

a favor would not be granted unless peace should attend it or result from it; and the prime minister made a similar declaration to the peers.

The conferences at London and Paris were at length A. D. productive of a series of articles, preparatory to 1763. a definitive peace. They were signed at Versailles, on the part of the French monarch, by the count de Vergennes, and, for the king of Great-Britain, by Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, who, at the same time, agreed to a preliminary treaty with Spain.

The articles of peace furnished Mr. Fox with an opportunity of exciting odium and clamour against the earl of Shelburne, who had settled the chief points with M. Rayneval, a *commis* sent to England by the count de Vergennes. But all his efforts might have been withstood by the earl, if the leader of the Whigs had not been joined, at his own desire, by lord North and his Tory friends. The report of this heterogeneous and unprincipled coalition was, for some time, disbelieved by the public; but its effect strikingly appeared when the preliminaries were debated in the house of commons.

The peers (by a majority of thirteen) signified their approbation of the articles, and thanked the king for the wisdom and patriotism which he had exhibited in thus relieving his subjects from war. But the representatives of the people would not so far gratify the court. Lord John Cavendish objected to a complimentary address proposed by Mr. Thomas Pitt; and moved, that the house should thank his majesty for the communication of the treaties, and promise to examine them with due attention. Lord North, to this amendment, wished to add a clause in recommendation of the American *loyalists* (as the enemies of the congress were called); and he opposed the articles with asperity, probably because he had not been suffered to adjust them. They, indeed,

merited some censure ; but a minister whose incapacity had so evidently appeared during the war, had no right to censure any terms of peace, as the disadvantage or dishonour chiefly resulted from his errors and misconduct. Mr. Powys supported the original address, and took an opportunity of reprobating the coalition. As Mr. Dundas also censured the new combination of parties, he was rallied on the subject by Mr. Sheridan, who represented his alliance with Mr. Pitt, the friend of reform, as still more extraordinary. Mr. Fox vindicated his union with lord North, by alleging the cessation of the cause of disagreement—the American war. He inveighed against the terms, as humiliating and disgraceful ; and declared his firm opinion of the facility of procuring an honourable peace. Mr. Pitt defended the stipulations, and affirmed that they were as favorable as any reasonable person, who considered the circumstances of the nation, could expect. On a division, the amendments were carried by a majority of sixteen, the numbers being 224 and 208.

The subject was again discussed with warmth and asperity, in consequence of a motion from lord John Cavendish, intimating that “ the concessions made to the adversaries of Great-Britain were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual state of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength.” This debate produced a renewed defence of the coalition from Mr. Fox and lord North ; but their arguments on this head were not forcible. The resolution was voted by a majority of seventeen.

As the king was highly displeased at the object of the coalition, he did not immediately change the administration : but, when Mr. Coke had moved an address for that purpose, to which the house of commons readily agreed, new arrangements were ordered. Mr. Fox (on

the 2d of April) was appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs; and lord North for the home department. The duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury; and lord John Cavendish was declared chancellor of the exchequer. The presidency of the council was transferred to lord Stormont: the great seal, which lord Thurlow had retained amidst the changes of the preceding year, was put into the hands of lord Loughborough and two other judges; and the privy seal was delivered to the earl of Carlisle. Mr. Burke re-obtained his former post: lord Townshend was selected for the mastership of the ordnance, and colonel Fitzpatrick for the office of secretary at war; while lord Keppel was again commissioned to preside at the board of admiralty.

Mr. Fox gave early attention to the affairs of North-America: but, as a regular commercial treaty with the new republic required serious deliberation, he only proposed, for the present, a repeal of the prohibitory enactments, and an authorisation of the king to regulate the intercourse between the merchants of the two nations.

Before the change of the ministry, a bill, declarative of independent rights, had been introduced by Mr. Thomas Townshend (then secretary of state) for the gratification of the Irish, who were not content with the repeal of the obnoxious act of George the First. Being favored by the coalesced leaders, it was now enacted: but an union of the parliaments of the two realms would have been a preferable measure.

The two secretaries soon manifested the occasional difference of their political sentiments. When Mr. Pitt advised the commons to frame new regulations for the prevention of bribery and the reform of the representation, Mr. Fox maintained, and lord North denied, the necessity and expediency of such measures; and the

house decided against the proposal. In a subsequent debate, arising from a bill of official reform brought forward by Mr. Pitt, these ministers were less at variance. They objected to it on various grounds; and, when it reached the upper house, the peers of the coalition procured a majority against it.

While the new counsellors of his majesty retained their influence, definitive treaties were signed (on the 3d of September) with France, Spain, and the United States of North-America. To the first-named power, St. Lucia was re-delivered, and Tobago guaranteed: Goree was restored, and the forts near the Senegal were ceded, while Great-Britain retained her settlements upon the Gambia: Pondicheri, and all other towns and forts reduced by the English in Hindostan, were given up; and, on the other hand, they recovered from the French six West-Indian islands which had been taken during the war. It was agreed, that Minorca should be ceded to the Spaniards, who were also permitted to possess both the provinces of Florida. The Americans were favoured in point of boundary, as well as with regard to the Newfoundland fishery. The treaty with Holland was not finally settled before the year 1784; and the Dutch were then not only obliged to cede Negapatam, but to allow to all British subjects a free navigation in the eastern seas.

The peace which was now concluded did not meet with the full approbation of those who had a due sense of the honor of their country. It was too favourable to the French, whose exhausted finances did not promise an ability of continuing the war with effect. To the Spaniards it was more advantageous than their injustice deserved, as it allowed them to retain a province and an island which they had subdued. To the Americans, the court seemed to give too much, in conceding more

than the boon of independence. The Dutch, however, could not say that they had extorted terms which were dishonorable to Great-Britain: they were justly punished for their avarice and ingratitude.

CHAPTER XI.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1783—1784.

THE coalition has never been defended to the satisfaction of unbiased minds and upright characters. It has been alleged, that men who have been decidedly hostile upon grand political questions, may, when the grounds of contest have been removed, renounce their animosity without being liable to just censure, and coalesce without meriting reproach, particularly when they are influenced to unite by a desire of promoting the public interest. Even if ambition should have a great share in producing the union, it may, say these politicians, be palliated and excused. But the coalition of Mr. Fox with lord North was of a nature heterogeneous, so contrary to all just grounds of union, that (in our opinion) only those who are blinded by party, or are deficient in the faculty of reasoning, can presume to speak in its vindication. It exhibited the strong features of political deformity, the unblushing front of interested ambition. One was a professed Whig, almost a republican; the other was a Tory, inclined to support the high claims of monarchy. Fox was so far a latitudinarian, that he wished to open to dissenters the emoluments of the church and the privileges of corporations; while North was so firm a friend to the ecclesi-

astical establishment, that he invariably opposed the pretensions of the sectaries. Fox had—not merely in an occasional debate, but in the uniform course of many years—assailed the obnoxious premier with the most insulting scurrility and the most sarcastic asperity; had represented him as the most contemptible of all fools, the most incapable of all ministers, the systematic enemy of his country, the vile betrayer of the rights of Britons, the pertinacious promoter of an unnatural war; and had declared that he would not rest until he had brought him to the block for his multiplied enormities. An orator, in a popular assembly, may be allowed to make use of that figure which is technically called *hyperbole*; but, when his effusions, after a fair restriction of their import, and a reduction of their embellishments within the bounds of common sense, substantially include an excess of pointed censure and invective, he cannot retract them so far as to enter into a close union with his principal adversary, without subjecting himself to the imputation of having opposed and thwarted him from the mere impulse of a factious spirit, and of having fulminated his anathemas against a respectable and patriotic minister, whom, for selfish purposes, he wished to drive from the helm. To say that the cause of opposition is removed, is inconsistent with such attacks; for, with every reflecting man, such grounds of political hostility must be eternal. The furious assailant who could thus coalesce proved himself to be either an illiberal and factious calumniator, unworthy of obtaining the least credit to his subsequent speeches, or so appetent of power, that he would unite with any one, however weak or unprincipled, for the purpose of securing it. Lord North was less censurable than Mr. Fox for agreeing to an union; but, if we consider the difference of their principles, and the attacks which he had

sustained, his assent to it seemed to involve a dereliction of all honorable and manly spirit.

Lord North had formerly distinguished himself by an act for the regulation of the government of India; and he now concurred with Mr. Fox in a plan of a bolder kind—a violent remedy, for which the dangerous nature of the disease seemed urgently to call. Soon after the meeting of parliament, permission was asked for the introduction of a bill, which would consign the management of the affairs of the India company to seven commissioners, who should possess for four years the powers hitherto enjoyed by the directors and the general court of proprietors, and not be liable to dismissal unless the peers or commons should address his majesty for that purpose. Mr. Fox asserted the propriety of such a measure, and insisted on its expediency for the preservation and security of our Asiatic settlements. He mentioned the want of harmony between the directors and proprietors, the confusion which prevailed both at home and abroad, the very low state of the finances, and the enormity of abuse, oppression, and grievance. This misgovernment, he said, would also be corrected by a second bill, which, by prescribing rules for the conduct of the officers of the company, would substitute moderation for tyranny, equity for injustice, and regularity for disorder. Both bills were allowed to be brought into the house; and animated debates were expected from the nature of the scheme.

On the production of the former bill, Mr. William Wyndham Grenville opposed it with great warmth. He admitted the necessity of new regulations for the government of India, but protested against the adoption of a plan so iniquitous—a plan which would grossly violate a solemn charter, reduce the king under

the sway of an unprincipled faction, and endanger the existence of the constitution. The pretended remedy, he thought, would be infinitely worse than the disease. Commodore Johnstone controverted the necessity of such an arbitrary interference in the affairs of the company, whose rights, he said, ought not to be annulled or even diminished without proof of delinquency. Mr. Fox and lord John Cavendish argued, that a new system was essentially necessary on this occasion, and that no charters ought to preclude a reform which was calculated for the most beneficial purposes. The new power (the secretary added) would not, as had been invidiously hinted, supersede or control that of the crown, but would be conjunct and co-operative with it. This assertion was contradicted by Mr. Pitt, who represented the powers as so far distinct in this case, that a party, armed with the patronage of India, and swaying the two houses of parliament, would hold the king in a state of powerless vassalage.

Petitions being presented against the bill from the court of directors and the body of proprietors, the house consented to hear pleadings in support of the allegations of persons so deeply interested in the proceedings. The counsellors, regardless of the opinion of the majority, declaimed against the bill as unjust and tyrannical, and with strong remonstrances deprecated its enactment.

As the directors had exhibited a favorable statement of the commercial and pecuniary affairs of the company, Mr. Fox entered into an arithmetical detail, to prove the fallacy of the accounts: but some of his assumptions were as ill-founded as those to which he objected. He then defended the bill, by alleging the misconduct and incapacity of the directors; and lord North maintained the policy and utility of the measure, which, he also contended, was not inconsistent with

justice, as the spirit of the charter had been scandalously violated. Mr. Pitt reprobated the bill in the strongest terms, and conjured the house to reject with indignation a scheme which militated against equity, honor, and justice, and would create a new and dangerous power in the state.

In a subsequent debate, when Mr. Powys had opposed the intended violation of public faith, Mr. Burke spoke of solemn charters with reverence, but he would not suffer his respect for such instruments to overbear his sense of equity, and his regard for oppressed fellow-creatures, particularly where they suspended (as in the case of a monopoly) the natural rights of mankind. A charter of this kind, he said, ought not to become the source of oppression; and, if those who acted under it had systematically deviated from its spirit and object, they ought to be punished by a revocation of the grant. He affirmed, that the most nefarious outrages, and every species of tyranny, had disgraced the government of India; and that, if the directors either connived at, or could not prevent, the commission of such crimes, they were wholly unworthy of trust or favour. Commercial mismanagement, he added, was as prevalent as political delinquency; and, in every point of view, a new system was so necessary, that the parliament would deserve strong censure if it should not agree to the present scheme, or to some plan equally calculated to meet the exigency. He denied that the influence which the bill would grant or create would be dangerous, as the commissioners would be responsible to the parliament for all their actions. After some spirited harangues on both sides, the commitment of the bill was ordered by a majority of 114. In the sequel it was opposed by lord Mahon, who called it an infamous bill; by Mr. Wilkes, who

said that no epithet could be too harsh for it; by sir Richard Hill, who quaintly satirised its chief authors; by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Jenkinson, who were of opinion that it would introduce a new power, independent of the crown. It was supported by general Burgoyne, who referred to the reports of different committees for proofs of the delinquency of the company; by Mr. Anstruther, who forcibly argued for the necessity of a reform; by Mr. Rigby and the attorney-general Lee, who maintained that a charter which ceased to be beneficial in its effects ought for the public good to be abrogated. It was then sanctioned by a majority of 106, the numbers being 208 and 102.

In the house of peers, it met with a different fate. Lord Loughborough was its advocate; but lord Thurlow pointedly arraigned its principle and tendency; and the duke of Richmond was equally warm in his censures. On a question of adjournment, the adversaries of the ministry prevailed.

The dispute at length (on the 17th of December) came to a crisis. The earl of Carlisle spoke with ability in favor of the scheme. As it was said to involve a confiscation of private property, he replied to this allegation by asserting, that it would increase the security of such possessions; that an endeavour to make the directorial government at home more respectable would not render this property more precarious; nor would an attempt to prevent disorder and confusion abroad diminish its value. To speak of the wanton annulment of a charter was an imputation equally ill-founded. It was highly reasonable to alter or revoke such a grant, if its continuance portended general inconvenience and public danger. All the British subjects in India would feel the effect of the wild ambition, the improvidence, and misconduct, of the company; and the inhabitants of

Great-Britain would be more severely taxed, to make up the deficiencies consequent on the non-payment of the duties required from that almost-ruined corporation. The evils for which the ministers had proposed a remedy, could not be corrected by ordinary palliatives, but demanded strong measures; and, to ensure the permanence of the new authority, it was proper that it should depend more on the parliament than on the crown.—Lord Camden affirmed, that no property could be secure if charters should thus be violated on the plea of convenience or necessity; that the maladministration of the company had been artfully exaggerated; that the new scheme did not promise better government; and that it was a dangerous infringement of the constitution to commit executive power to the legislature. This debate terminated in the rejection of the bill, by a difference of 19 votes. It probably would have passed, if the king, feeling a strong repugnance to the scheme, had not communicated his disgust, by the medium of earl Temple, to many of his hereditary counsellors.

Whether the bill thus exploded was a justifiable measure, is a point that deserves some investigation. It is highly proper that great regard should be paid to charters, whether granted only by the king or sanctioned by the legislature. Public faith ought to be as strong a tie as private honor. But the original purpose of the grant ought to be deliberately considered; and, if it should appear, to an impartial eye, that the intent and spirit of a charter have been grossly violated, and that a continuance of the same system may involve the society in ruin, and materially injure the state, there seems to be no criminality in punishing, by a revocation of the grant, the unprincipled mismanagers of such an important establishment; or, if the conductors have

evinced great weakness and want of judgement, without being profligate, tyrannical, or unjust, their inadequate agency may, not improperly, be superseded by the appointment of other managers. The act was certainly violent and arbitrary in appearance; but the necessity of powerful control was indisputable; and strong measures alone seemed to promise a retrieval of the affairs of the company.

The extraordinary power and influence which the commissioners might derive from the new arrangements, sufficient (it was said) to hold the king in bondage, were exaggerated by the opposers of the bill; but it must be allowed that the bold spirit of its author had so framed it as to secure a greater degree of authority and patronage for himself and his friends, than even the urgency of the case required. By thus grasping at too much, he lost all; and, by soaring to an immoderate height, he precipitated his fall.

Although the ministers had lost the confidence of their sovereign, they would not condescend to resign their posts. They instructed Mr. Baker to move a resolution, intimating that it was a high crime and misdemeanour, invasive of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution of the country, to report any opinion or pretended opinion of his majesty, upon a bill or other proceeding, in the hope of influencing the decision of the members of either house. This motion was supported by invectives against clandestine advice and unconstitutional interference, and was sanctioned by a majority of 73 votes. It was then resolved, that the house should, in the following week, commence an inquiry into the state of the nation; and also (on the motion of Mr. Erskine, a very eloquent barrister), that, as it was necessary to the most essential interests of the kingdom, and peculiarly incumbent

on the commons, to pursue with unremitting zeal the consideration of a suitable remedy for the abuses which prevailed in the government of the British dominions in the East-Indies, every person who should advise his majesty to prevent, or in any manner interrupt, the discharge of this great duty, should be deemed an enemy to his country. The king, influenced by the adversaries of the coalition, resolved to disregard these votes, and change his ministry. He sent an order, at night, to enforce the resignation of the two secretaries: the duke of Portland, and the inferior members of the administration, were also dismissed from their employments. Mr. Pitt, though he was only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was placed at the head of the new cabinet, being appointed first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The marquis of Carmarthen succeeded Mr. Fox, and lord Sydney (late Mr. Thomas Townshend) was substituted for lord North. Lord Thurlow was reinstated in the chancellorship: earl Gower was honoured with the presidency of the council; and the duke of Rutland was intrusted with the privy seal. The duke of Richmond again became master of the ordnance: the secretary at war was sir George Yonge; lord Howe was the director of the admiralty; and the office of treasurer of the navy was conferred on Mr. Dundas, whom the young premier found a very useful auxiliary.

As the new ministers were not supported by the majority of the house of commons, it was apprehended by Mr. Fox that a dissolution would be ordered; and he resolved to ascertain whether the spirit of that assembly would be able to control the king in the exercise of this branch of his prerogative. In a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Erskine moved, that an address should be voted, requesting the sovereign not

to prorogue or dissolve the parliament, or "listen to the secret advice of persons who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interest of his majesty and his people." Mr. Bankes said, that he was authorised by Mr. Pitt to disclaim all thoughts of advising a dissolution: but Mr. Fox ridiculed this intimation; and the address received the assent of the house. The king gave a polite but ambiguous answer.

As soon as the two houses re-assembled after A. D. the Christmas recess, four motions, tending to 1784. embarrass the ministry, arose from the vexation and disappointment of the coalition party. By one, the bill against mutiny was postponed for six weeks: by another, such ministers as enjoyed the confidence of the commons and the public, were required. Not intimidated by these attacks, Mr. Pitt brought forward a plan for the government of India, which Mr. Fox reprobated as too favorable to royal power, and, at the same time, too weak and inconsistent to be efficacious. The ministers were then assailed by a new vote (for which, however, only a majority of 21 appeared), declaring that their continuance in office, after the late intimations of the sense of the house, militated against the principles of the constitution, and tended to injure the interests of the king and the nation. In another division, they were also out-numbered; but they were pleased to find, that the adverse party declined in strength; for it was only by a plurality of eight votes that Mr. Pitt's India bill was checked in its progress.

As the premier refused to obey the repeated calls of the house of commons for his resignation, many of the members wished for a coalition between him and his rival; and a negotiation was proposed; but it failed

even in the outset. The advocates for this union, at one of their meetings, agreed upon a declaration to be submitted to the house. It imported, that the critical state of public affairs "required the exertions of a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country." Mr. Pitt concurred with his chief adversary in assenting to this motion, which the house unanimously adopted. He could not, however, be expected to vote for the next proposition, as it declared that the continuance of the new servants of the crown in their official stations proved an obstacle to the formation of such a ministry as could save the country. This question was decided in the affirmative by a majority of 19; and the house also resolved, that these votes should be imparted to the king by such members as were privy counsellors.

The house of lords having condemned some of the votes of the commons as unconstitutional, the latter vindicated their proceedings by new resolutions; and, when an in compliant answer had been given in his majesty's name, an address was voted (after some warm speeches on both sides), expressing a reliance on the royal wisdom for the removal of all obstacles to the administration desired by the commons. The king replied, that, as no specific charge had been adduced or even suggested against his ministers, he did not conceive it proper to dismiss them, particularly as such dismission did not appear to be calculated to promote the public security or general benefit. A second address, and a subsequent remonstrance (voted by a majority of *one*), did not subdue the firmness of his majesty; and the weakened party at length desisted from the unavailing contest.

The aspiring faction which had so long defied the crown, ceased to be formidable when its views were unsupported by the nation. If the majority of the people had concurred in the wish for the expulsion of the young minister from the cabinet, the king would not have persisted in retaining him: but numerous addresses, though not always a sure criterion of the general opinion, sufficiently proved, in the present case, that Mr. Fox and his friends had lost the public favor. His new partisans, indeed, had never enjoyed it; and his association with them irreparably injured the fame of his patriotism. If he had enjoyed all the popularity of Pulteney or the elder Pitt, he could not expect to be a dictator: still less could he expect to rule with paramount sway, when he was considered, by all but his blind admirers, as a factious and unprincipled intriguer. He knew that an attempt to withhold the supplies would excite general indignation; and he foresaw that the majority of the commons would no longer support him if he should venture on so bold a measure.

Although the defeat of the party was evident, the court wished for that decisive majority, which the existing parliament did not, in every case, promise; and therefore (on the 25th of March) a dissolution was ordered.

That the king has, by constitutional right, the prerogative of ministerial selection, no one who is acquainted with our government will deny; and, when he has made such a choice as wisdom may be supposed to have dictated, loyal subjects are readily inclined to approve the appointment. Even when it has been attended with extraordinary circumstances, so as to excite unfavorable suspicions of the characters and views of the new leaders of the cabinet, the house of commons, although it is their duty to prevent the immoderate ascendancy of

the crown or the aristocracy, cannot, without the imputation of factious motives, pertinaciously recommend a better choice to the sovereign, unless they adduce some specific ground of crimination. After the incident of the coalition, we may reasonably doubt the patriotism of Mr. Fox and his noble associate, and conclude that they were more actuated by a thirst of power, and a desire of wreaking their revenge upon the men who had effected their removal, than influenced by public virtue, or a love for the constitution.

While this contest excited the attention of Europe, the French court endeavoured to repair the mischiefs which had flowed from its rash interference in the war between great Britain and the colonies. The Spanish monarch, by the suppression of some monasteries, and by a retrenchment of various branches of expenditure, had recruited his finances; and he now employed a part of his treasure in preparations for the chastisement of the Algerines; upon whose capital, however, his armament made little impression. The states-general were involved in a contest with Joseph the Second, emperor of Germany, who had encroached on their territories, and alarmed them by threatening to open the Schelde; but, in the following year, he consented to an accommodation with the republic, in consideration of a pecuniary grant.

The new elections, being favorable to the cause of the crown, fixed Mr. Pitt in the ministerial seat. The first division, after the meeting of the parliament, gratified him with a majority of 147 votes; and though his rival affected to prophesy that his power would not be durable, he himself seemed to entertain no doubt of its continuance.

The Westminster election produced some acrimonious debates. This has been termed, by an annual his-

toriographer, a struggle scarcely less conspicuous and memorable than a battle between contending nations, or a revolution in the structure of their government; but we do not affix such importance to it. The candidates were, lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and sir Cecil Wray. The baronet, having the smallest number of suffrages, and doubting the legality of many of the votes which had been given for the discarded secretary, desired a scrutiny; and the return was thus delayed, without excluding Mr. Fox from the house, as he had been chosen for a Scottish borough. The commons, influenced by Mr. Pitt, refused to order an immediate return.

The most important act of the new session was that which was adopted in lieu of the India bill of Mr. Fox. It was introduced with a pompous detail of its objects and advantages. Its chief features were, the erection of a board of control for the superintendence of the territorial concerns, the statement of general rules for regulating the conduct of the commissioners named by the king for that purpose, the reservation of commercial management and official appointment to the company, and the establishment of a court for the more speedy and effectual trial of delinquents.

Mr. Francis, well known as the determined adversary of Mr. Hastings, took the lead as an opposer of the new bill. It was intended, he said, to correct the abuse of power abroad, and supply the deficiency of power at home; and, to provide for these objects, its author proposed to increase the former power, and diminish the latter. It would render the directors mere ciphers, and augment the influence of the ministry and the crown. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan inveighed against it, as infringing the rights of the company, without promising a real redress of grievances or correction of misgovernment. It was rendered less objectionable in its pro-

gress through a committee; and passed both houses, after a short but strong protest from the earl of Carlisle and other peers.

The commissioners appointed by this bill soon exercised their power of control. The nabob of Arcot, involved in debts and difficulties, had agreed to a proposal from the presidency of Madras for the assignment of his revenues, that he might be less at the mercy of individual creditors. A strong party had opposed this measure; but the governor, lord Macartney, warmly supported it, and resolved to maintain it. Some of his friends apprehended that he might undergo the fate of lord Pigot; which, however, he averted by the arrest of major-general Stuart, and by other acts of spirit. The council of Calcutta ordered that the assignment should be superseded; but neither this injunction, nor the remonstrances of the nabob, could subdue the reluctance of Macartney. He at length received a similar order from the board of control; but, before it was enforced, he declined the offered honor of succeeding Mr. Hastings as governor-general, and returned to England with a fair character, and a very small share of the wealth of India.

An opinion of the delinquency of Mr. Hastings being strongly impressed on the mind of Mr. Burke, he moved that the house should inquire into the facts contained in the reports which had been presented on the subject of oriental mal-administration. Lord Thurlow had declared, that he considered those reports as scarcely more worthy of regard than the history of Robinson Crusoe. That all the scenes of horror delineated in the volumes which the house had received, were mere fictions, Mr. Burke sincerely wished: but, as he apprehended that the statements were in general true, he hoped that the offenders might not escape justice. His

various motions, however, were discountenanced by the majority.

Reports concerning illicit trade being taken into consideration by the house, a judicious bill was enacted for the more effectual prevention of smuggling; and, as the duty upon tea was greatly evaded, the minister proposed to diminish the temptation to such fraud by a considerable reduction; a scheme which produced the commutation act, imposing new duties on windows, to compensate the loss of revenue in the article of tea.

During the session, the national taste for a pleasing science was evinced by a signal commemoration of Handel in the abbey of Westminster—a series of musical entertainments, which exhibited a greater number of performers, vocal and instrumental, than had been collected for many centuries. The varied strains soothed or enraptured the hearers; while the skill and accuracy of execution excited general applause.

CHAPTER XII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1784—1787.

THE power of the new minister was now fully established, to the great disgust of his combined opponents, who found themselves the objects of severe attack and of general censure. He had baffled their utmost exertions; continued to enjoy the favor of his sovereign; and had acquired a considerable degree of popularity. He now directed his attention to the affairs of Ireland.

As the favors granted to the Irish, under the administration of lord North, were not completely satisfactory

to the advocates of commercial freedom, it was proposed that the trade of the two nations should be brought as nearly to an equality as mutual convenience would allow. The adjustment of this business required delicacy and caution, that the manufacturers and traders of Great-Britain might not be disgusted while those of Ireland were gratified, and that the latter might not have a pretence for supposing that any of the new regulations encroached on their independence. After attentive and anxious deliberation, various propositions were framed by the cabinet, in concert with persons who had a considerable knowledge of mercantile concerns.

A. D. They first received the assent of the Irish parliament, 1785. and were afterward recommended to the commons of Great-Britain by the persuasive eloquence of Mr. Pitt. When he had illustrated and enforced the plan, he moved, that the intercourse between the kingdoms should be finally regulated on equitable principles for mutual benefit, and that a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, if her parliament, out of the surplus of hereditary revenue, would contribute to the protection of the trade and general interest of the empire.

While this scheme remained under consideration, the Westminster scrutiny was warmly debated; and the majority at length voted against the minister, whose rival then took his seat for the town which he particularly wished to represent. A parliamentary reform was again proposed by Mr. Pitt, whose scheme involved a purchase of the elective franchise of small boroughs, a transfer of the right to towns of greater extent and importance, and an increase of the number of representatives of counties, as well as of voters for them. The motion for this salutary purpose was as unsuccessful in England as Mr. Flood's proposal of reform in Ireland;

but Mr. Pitt was not opposed by the majority when he brought forward several bills of official regulation.

The commercial scheme consisted of twenty propositions, which the minister, in a renewed harangue on the subject, arranged under three heads. The first related to the colonial trade, which the Irish already enjoyed *directly*, and which they would now be allowed to carry on *circuitously*, importing the commodities into Britain by the way of Ireland. The second respected the immediate intercourse between the realms, and provided for a general equality of duties; and the third included the return which Ireland would make for British indulgence. Mr. Fox admitted that the alterations which had been made in the scheme tended to improve it: but he did not see the necessity of its adoption. It would not, he thought, be advantageous to either country. The British merchants and manufacturers deprecated its completion; and the people of Ireland did not call for it. It was also opposed by lord North, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Courtenay, and other speakers, more plausibly than justly. Both houses agreed to it; and, when the subject was again considered by the Irish commons, the majority voted in favour of the propositions.

As Mr. Pitt was generally firm and unyielding, it was not supposed that he would relinquish the measure. But it was so strongly counteracted by the popular orators in Ireland, and, in consequence of their suggestions, excited such jealousy, that the minister desisted from the prosecution of a scheme which deserved encouragement.

The fourth article furnished a pretence for that clamor which occasioned the failure of the whole project. It imported, that all acts which had passed, or bills which should pass, in Great-Britain, for securing exclu-

sive privileges to British, Irish, and colonial ships and mariners, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the colonies (the provisions of such acts being equal with regard to both kingdoms), should operate in Ireland by means of re-enactment. It was contended, both by Mr. Fox and Mr. Grattan, that this proviso would be an invasion of that right of exclusive legislation which had been recently acknowledged and confirmed; and this allegation had such an effect on the feelings of the Irish, that it decided the contest.

A bill for the regulation of the police of the metropolis and its environs met with strenuous opposition. It was pronounced arbitrary and unconstitutional, and was withdrawn by the proposer, the solicitor-general Macdonald. It was generally admitted, however, that the police required some emendation, as crimes had lately so increased in frequency, that twenty offenders were put to death at one time in the front of Newgate.

The danger of an invasion during the late war having impressed itself on the mind of the duke of Richmond, he devised an extensive plan of fortification. On this head we may observe, that the best fortifications of an island are its wooden walls: in other words, the navy may be regarded as the best defence of such a country. But, as winds may sometimes favor an invading enemy, and obstruct the operations of the fleet intended for defence,—and as the whole extent of the coast of a large island cannot easily be protected by shipping—it is expedient to fortify various parts of the coast, particularly near the mouths of rivers, or where the harbours are commodious, and the landing easy. The duke, being a military man, thought more of the land-service than of that of the sea; and, being enthusiastically fond of fortification, he formed a grand scheme of defensive works, better adapted for a continental frontier than for Great-

Britain. Want of judgement, and neglect of œconomy, pervaded the plan. He secured, however, the approbation of the premier, who recommended the scheme to parliamentary support. But, when the house A.D. of commons divided upon the subject, so as to 1786. form an equality, the good sense of the speaker crushed the wild project by his casting vote. The first part related only to Portsmouth and Plymouth; but, as the permission for strengthening and extending the works near those dock-yards would have led to a general system of fortification, the house acted properly in giving an early check to the ill-judged proposal.

The advocates for public œconomy were gratified, in this session, with the adoption of a plan calculated to preclude national bankruptcy. At the first view of the subject of a public debt, it seems reasonable, that only the existing generation should pay the taxes levied either for common or extraordinary occasions; and it may therefore be thought unjust to subject posterity to the payment of the annual interest of a debt contracted in our own times, and for our supposed benefit. Yet it may be alleged, that our successors ought to pay some part of the expence previously incurred in securing and preserving the state, and transmitting the establishment unimpaired to their time. The same argument, however, may be applied in another way. If we constrain our posterity to pay for the prior improvement of the state, we also expose them to the weight of debts arising from an expenditure by which the nation may have been deeply injured. This, undoubtedly, is a serious grievance; but, if they take one contingency, they must incur the risque of the other. The great evil is that enormous and progressive augmentation of debt, which may, at no very distant period, render even the payment of the interest imprac-

licable. The principal, we may predict, never will be completely liquidated.

As the people had a right to expect, in time of peace, that some attempts should be made for the reduction of a debt which exceeded 266 millions, Mr. Pitt turned his attention to that important subject. The idea of a sinking fund was not entirely novel; but some new arrangements marked his scheme. He took notice of the report of a select committee, representing the revenue, from Michaelmas 1784 to the same festival in the following year, as amounting to 15,379,180 pounds, which, after a deduction of 14,478,180 pounds for the expenditure, left a surplus of 901,000 pounds. He acknowledged that the annual expences, even since the termination of the war, had considerably exceeded the amount above stated; but he was confident of their speedy reduction to that standard. He congratulated the house on that extent of national resource which, after a very mischievous and burthensome war, would allow the appropriation of a large sum, in every year, to the reduction of the public debt. A million, he thought, would be a proper sum for that purpose; and very few taxes would be necessary to raise the surplus to that sum. To prevent an application of this million, or any part of it, to a different use, he proposed that strict regulations should be enacted, and that persons of high station and character should be entrusted by parliament with the management of the scheme.

Some members objected to the inalienability of the stock in question; but this may be considered as one of the best features of the plan. Others doubted the facility of obtaining such a surplus; and Mr. Sheridan, in particular, animadverted on the erroneous principles adopted by the committee, the ill-founded calculations

and visionary hopes of the minister. The bill, however, met with general approbation.

The late act for the better government of India was improved by a new statute. Persons returning from that country had been required to swear to the amount of their property; a demand which was now abandoned, not (said Mr. Dundas) from a conviction of its impropriety, but because it had excited great disgust. To prevent faction in the council, the governor-general was invested with more effective power, being at the same time subjected to greater responsibility. Some points respecting the new court of judicature were altered; but trial by jury was not allowed to form a part of the institution.

The misconduct of Warren Hastings now became the subject of regular discussion, with a view to an impeachment. Mr. Burke expatiated on the offences of the governor, and called for a strict inquiry. He exhibited twenty-two charges: but, before they were brought forward with the pomp of oratory, the delinquent was permitted to read a written defence. At length the accusing senator moved, that the house should declare the conduct of Mr. Hastings, with regard to the war against the Rohillas, to be a just ground of impeachment. He represented the war as unprovoked and consequently unjust, attended with many circumstances of wanton cruelty. Rohilcund had been styled the garden of India by the governor himself: but he had inhumanly ravaged that flourishing country. Mr. Powys reprobated the extirpatory violence of the nabob and his English ally, and concurred in the motion. Mr. Grenville vindicated the war, and denied the charge of cruelty, and that of extirpation. Mr. Burton maintained the justice of the war, and panegyrised the humanity of Mr. Hastings, whose *tenderness*, he said,

sometimes approached even to *womanish weakness*. Mr. Fox attributed the confederacy between the nabob and the governor, on this occasion, to an iniquitous spirit of rapacity, and severely condemned the inhumanity of both. On a division, there appeared 119 votes against the motion, and only 67 for it.

The charge which related to the treatment of Cheit Sing, rajah of Benares, was decided against Mr. Hastings by a majority of 40. It was affirmed by Mr. Fox, that the governor, regardless of the laws of honor, and of express engagements, had wantonly exacted large sums from the rajah, and on pretence of the disaffection of that prince to the English, had unjustly ordered him to be seised, and deprived him of his territories. The minister surprised the house by agreeing to this charge. He, indeed, asserted the governor's right to call upon the rajah for military or pecuniary aid whenever the danger of the state or the wants of government required assistance or contribution. The agreement between Cheit Sing and the company, he said, related only to a time of peace, and did not preclude extraordinary demands during war. The rajah's unwillingness to acquiesce in a reasonable requisition, justified Mr. Hastings in punishing him by a fine; but the penalty ought not to have been too exorbitant for the offence. The intended exaction being so enormous, it was the duty of the house to impeach the tyrannical and rapacious governor.

The nations lately so hostile, Great-Britain and France, had been for some time negotiating a commercial treaty, which, being at length adjusted by Mr. Eden and M. Rayneval, was signed in the autumn at Versailles. It must be allowed, that our sovereign and his ministers were influenced, on this occasion, by liberal motives, by a desire of extinguishing ancient animosities

and national prejudices, and of promoting reciprocal benefit by a free exchange of our manufactures and works of art for the produce of a soil and climate better than our own. The high duties on both sides were considerably reduced; and each kingdom placed the other upon the footing of the most favored community.

The king, speaking of this treaty when he A. D. again met his parliamentary subjects, trusted 1787. that they would find its provisions calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries; and hoped that it would give additional permanence to the blessings of peace. Plausible objections were made to the treaty by Mr. Fox, Mr. Francis, the lords Loughborough and Stormont, the bishop of Llandaff, and other able speakers; who argued, that it would enable the French to rival our artificers and manufacturers, and injure the British trade both at home and abroad; that it did not grant an equivalent for the favors and facilities which the French would derive from it; that, although the duties were lowered, the free access of French ships would afford opportunities of unlawful trade to a considerable extent; and (in point of policy) that no dependence could be reposed on the friendship of our Gallic neighbours, who would take advantage of the treaty to undermine our interests, and delude the court and nation into a confidence of which they might have cause to repent.

The premier and his friends alleged on the other hand, that the dreaded rivalry was more imaginary than real, as British skill was so pre-eminent; that Britain would be a great gainer, because she would procure a market of twenty-four millions of people, while France would only obtain about nine millions

of additional purchasers ; that smuggling would necessarily be diminished by the measure ; and that a commercial intercourse with a foreign nation could not justly be expected to produce such a state of infatuation, as to render the country a prey to an enemy, however artful and treacherous.

Both houses adopted resolutions calculated to carry the treaty into effect ; and these provisions were inserted in a bill which included a plan for the *consolidation* of the customs, excise, and stamps, or the regular union of a great variety of duties, imposed at different times and in different modes, and so involved in confusion, as to occasion great perplexity and loss of time to merchants and traders. Mr. Burke candidly applauded this scheme ; but it was not perfectly fair or proper to join a measure which almost every member approved, to one which a considerable number disapproved, as the freedom of decision was thus impaired.

The inquisitorial process being renewed, Mr. Sheridan acquired high fame for eloquence and ability, by a speech of extraordinary length, delivered in support of that charge which imputed to Mr. Hastings the guilt of oppressing the *begums* or princesses of Oude. He affirmed, that this charge comprehended almost every species of human offence—insatiable rapacity, deliberate treachery, gross perfidy, unprovoked tyranny, and atrocious cruelty. It had been alleged, that the treasures of the *begums* belonged to the state. A part of the contents of the zenana or haram at Fyzabad might, he said, be so considered : but, when the money claimed by Asof-ul-dowlah on that ground had been given up, the remainder was private property ; and it was so acknowledged in an agreement between the nabob and his mother, guarantied by the company. The *jaghirs*, or allotted lands, were secured by the same

treaty. In defiance of these stipulations, the governor encouraged a son to plunder his mother, that the English might participate of the spoils. It was pretended that the begums had formed hostile intentions against the company, and had stimulated many of the *zemin-dars*, or great landholders, to shake off the British yoke; but these assertions were ill-founded; and indeed, in the defence of Mr. Hastings, there was scarcely a single particle of truth. At Chunar he concerted with the subservient nabob a flagitious treaty, providing, among other objects, for the resumption of the jaghirs; an unjustifiable resolution, which was enforced with rigor and inhumanity. These and other enormities were detailed with an animation and force which electrified the house.

Many who had hitherto entertained a favourable opinion of Mr. Hastings, were influenced by the oratory of Mr. Sheridan to vote against him on this question: The governor, who was defended by major Scott, was strongly censured by Mr. Pitt; and a majority of 107 appeared for the charge.

The next article referred to the treatment of the nabob of Farruck-abad, whom Asof-ul-dowlah had oppressed in various modes, having bribed the governor to suffer him so to act. This charge was sanctioned by the house; as were also those which concerned the extravagance and profusion of Mr. Hastings, his treachery and injustice toward Fizoula Khan (a Rohilla chieftain), his unwarrantable acceptance of numerous and exorbitant presents, and his mal-administration of the revenues, including his oppression of the *zemindars*.

When the charges had been fully examined, a debate arose on the presentation of the report. Lord Hood would not consent to the impeachment of a man who

had saved India, and whose services far outweighed his supposed delinquencies. Mr. Wilkes was convinced that the charges rested on a very weak foundation; and the lord-advocate of Scotland (Hay Campbell) advised the house to act like a grand jury, and not prefer a bill of indictment without better grounds than appeared in the present case. The articles being separately voted, it was resolved (on the 10th of May) that Mr. Hastings should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.

The concerns of delinquents of an inferior description also drew the attention of the house. Cook, the celebrated navigator, had given an advantageous account of Botany-bay, in New-South-Wales (a part of New-Holland); and it occurred to the ministry, that, instead of dispersing transported felons on the coasts of America and Africa, it would be adviseable to form a distinct and remote colony from the full prisons of Great-Britain. As Rome was founded by fugitive adventurers, who increased their population by inviting to their city the refuse of different states, it was imagined that the felons sent to New-South-Wales might gradually be weaned from their licentious habits, and that the territory might become an useful appendage to the mother-country. The expence, it was foreseen, would for many years be considerable, but not so great as to be a serious grievance. The scheme being matured, a bill was framed for the regulation and establishment of the colony; and governor Philip was sent with a number of convicts of both sexes, for whose coercion he was invested with extraordinary power.

The claims of the heir of the crown were at this time discussed, as were also the very different claims or pretensions of the protestant dissenters. The prince, after a course of indiscretion and prodigality, had re-

trenched his establishment; and, to relieve him from his embarrassments, the commons granted 161,000 pounds, when the king had consented to add 10,000 pounds *per annum* to the 50,000 which his son already enjoyed.

The dissenters wished to be rendered capable of holding offices by a repeal of certain clauses of the act for the sacramental test, and that which provided for the purity of corporations: but the house, being of opinion that those sectaries had no claim to power and office unless they would comply with the reasonable terms annexed to the grant, rejected the application by a majority of 78.

In this session, the commissioners who had been appointed to "inquire into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land-revenues of the crown, and to sell or alienate fee-farm and other unimprovable rents," delivered their first report. It contained a schedule of all the lands in England and Wales holden by lease from the crown, exhibiting the annual value at the time of the latest grant or renewal of each lease. Exclusive of mines and other property of uncertain value, the specified estates produced 102,626 pounds *per annum*; and many of them were very improvable. A second report was presented in the succeeding session; and fifteen others followed, without being rendered subservient either to the correction of gross abuses in the management of the property in question, or to the relief of the people from any of the burthens imposed upon them for the expenses of the civil government. The sale of these estates would have furnished a large sum for the public service.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, lord George Gordon was tried for two libels, one reflecting upon the queen of France and the French ambassador,

the other remonstrating against the new scheme of transportation. Being found guilty, he absconded; but was at length apprehended, and committed to Newgate, where he passed the remainder of his life, as no person would offer, for a man of his character, the bail required for his good behaviour at the expiration of the term assigned for his imprisonment.

When the king closed the session, he lamented the prevalence of discord in the United Provinces. After the peace of the year 1783, the French had renewed, or rather continued, those intrigues which balanced the republican party in Holland against the stadtholder; and the British court, at the same time, exerted its interest in favour of that prince. The efforts of the opposite parties seemed, at length, to threaten serious consequences. The republicans encroached upon the supposed rights and prerogatives of the prince of Orange, whom, on the other hand, they accused of aiming at a degree of power incompatible with the constitution of the commonwealth. The former were so far successful in their views, that the friends of the prince were apprehensive of the ruin of his power. Sir James Harris, the English ambassador, endeavoured to rouse him to due energy; and assistance was promised to him for the defence of his rights. The princess, who was a woman of great spirit, repaired to the Hague to animate the adherents of the stadtholder, and (as she wished) was stopped by a detachment of armed men, acting under the orders of a dictatorial committee of the states of Holland.

The prince who at this time reigned in Prussia was nephew to that monarch who was long the ally of Britain. The great Frederic (in 1786) had given way to fate; and the new king did not possess that ability or energy which had marked the character of his prede-

cessor. But he was not deficient in courage or destitute of common sense; and he was sensible of the expediency of preventing the establishment of Gallic influence in Holland. He demanded reparation for the insult offered to his sister the princess of Orange; but the republicans, trusting to the aid of France, refused to comply with the requisition.

The French monarch, involved in financial difficulties, neglected the performance of his promise to the adversaries of the stadtholder. The British court, however, being officially informed that the French intended to make an effort in the cause which they had so long supported by intrigue, gave orders for the increase of the army and navy, and even contracted for a large body of Hessian mercenaries. The king of Prussia, encouraged by the dilatory languor of France, commanded his troops to invade Holland, and restore the prince to his rights.

The republican party being deserted by Louis, the duke of Brunswick, at the head of a Prussian host, took easy possession of Utrecht and other considerable towns, and diffused terror through the provinces. The reduction of Amsterdam being his chief object, he advanced to besiege that capital, not considering, as a serious obstacle, the partial inundation of the adjacent country. The senate and the burghers, although they were intimidated, did not immediately submit to his arms, as they had formed a line of defence, which seemed to present a formidable aspect.

Distracting the attention of the enemy by a general assault in front, amidst the attack of other posts, the duke made rapid progress in the siege. His troops (on the 1st of October) made eleven assaults with small loss, and overpowered the spirit of resistance. A capitulation was adjusted, by which seventeen persons,

obnoxious to the princess, were declared incapable of serving the republic. The stadtholder was allowed to new model the provincial administration, and to exact a new oath, favourable to his claims and interests. In the following year, the states-general, influenced by the prince, concluded treaties of alliance with Great Britain and Prussia; and the last-mentioned power also entered into a similar agreement with our court.

When the king was assisting the prince of Orange in the recovery of his former power, and even in the extension of it beyond the ordinary limits of a republican constitution, his late subjects in North America were occupied in a similar way—in consolidating their commonwealth by the invigoration of the executive power. The wisest men of the state, apprehending that the provinces, when not united by the dangers of war, might not be sufficiently concordant, proposed a new constitution, which, by detracting from the independence of each province, would check divisions, and strengthen, for general safety, the aggregate confederacy. The plan was framed with judgment; and, being promoted by the influence of Washington, it became an operative law. The republican general was placed at the head of the union, under the title of president of the United States; and he superintended, with temper and firmness, the deliberations of the two assemblies which composed the congress, and administered the affairs of the nation with dignity and wisdom.

CHAPTER XIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1787—1789.

THE seasonable interposition of Mr. Pitt, in support of the power of the prince of Orange, was applauded by the majority of the nation, although some considered it as an arbitrary and unjustifiable interference. The king expressed his joy at the rescue of the provinces from oppression, and the "re-establishment of their lawful government;" and he added, that, after an amicable explanation between him and his most Christian majesty, the navies of the two realms were to be reduced to the ordinary standard. The addresses were unanimously voted, even Mr. Fox approving the late conduct of the court.

Some naval promotions, which attended the late preparations, had given disgust to many of the true friends of the maritime service, because officers of great merit, not too old for action, had been neglected for the sake of juniors. The subject was brought forward A. D. in each house; but the majority refused to ad- 1788. dress his majesty on the subject, or to agree to a vote of censure.

Very strong opposition was made to a bill which Mr. Pitt represented as merely declaring the import of a former act, but which the anti-ministerial speakers viewed in a different light. When it was supposed that the dissensions in Holland might lead to a rupture with France, the commissioners who superintended the concerns of India had determined, in concert with the

directors, to send out a body of soldiers for the defence of the British territories in that part of the world ; but, when the alarm had subsided, the company retracted its assent, though the ministry still resolved to strengthen the army in the East. Mr. Pitt declared, that all the powers enjoyed by the directors before the enactment of the bill of 1784 were granted by that act to the board of control, whose orders therefore were sufficient to authorise the present scheme of military augmentation, and the payment (out of the revenues of the company) of the sum necessary for the new arrangements. Some eminent barristers, however, differed from the board on this subject ; and he therefore introduced a bill for the removal of doubt. It was opposed by counsel at the bar, as annihilating those rights of which no part of the regulating act could justly be said to have deprived the company. Comparisons were drawn by different members between the bills of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt ; and the latter was arraigned as insidiously undermining what the former had boldly and manfully taken away. The minister condescended to restrict, in some points, the power and patronage of the commissioners ; and the bill, after long and acrimonious debates, received the honor of enactment.

In an enlightened age, it is more surprising that any advocate should be found for the continuance of a traffic in slaves, than that a great proportion of the public should wish for the abolition of a trade so disgraceful to humanity. Petitions had been presented against it ; and a committee of the privy council inquired into the subject. Mr. Wilberforce, member for the county of York, was the person to whom the parliamentary management of the business seemed by the public voice to be assigned ; but he and the minister deemed a postponement advisable ; and, in the mean time, both

houses agreed to a bill for the better accommodation of the negroes, that they might not be so crowded as they had hitherto been in the voyage from Africa to the scene of their slavery.

No regular commercial treaty had been hitherto adjusted between Great-Britain and the American republic; and such a settlement was still deferred; but a bill of farther regulation, not inconsistent with the navigation act, was prepared by Mr. Grenville, and adopted by each house. A bill was also enacted to promote the pecuniary relief of the American loyalists.

The inquiry into the guilt of Mr. Hastings was not neglected. The court being opened in Westminster-hall, Mr. Burke rewarded the eager attention of his hearers by four brilliant harangues. In the first of these speeches, he traced and justified the proceedings of the house of commons, enforced and illustrated the general accusation, and asserted the peculiar propriety of fixing upon a delinquent, who was the first in rank and authority, and under whom, as the head, all the speculation and tyranny of India were embodied and disciplined. He admitted the difficulty of procuring that complete mass of evidence which some would think necessary; but he trusted that the testimonies and the proofs which would be adduced would convince every unprejudiced person of the atrocious guilt of the offender, whose destruction of recorded evidence, and influence over living testimony, ought not to be suffered to operate in his favor, or facilitate his escape from the hands of justice. He took a survey of the successive powers granted to the company from the time of queen Elizabeth, of its progress from the mere enjoyment of commercial advantages to dominion and empire, of the rapacity and misconduct of its officers, and the prevalence of injustice and oppression under its name and

authority. He entered into the early history of the country; treated of the manners and usages of the inhabitants, both Gentoos and Moslems; and maintained their natural and prescriptive right to a just and moderate government, which not even the descendants of Timour, the inhuman Tartar, had dared to violate with the systematic iniquity of the English governor.

In the second speech, the history of India was resumed. The consequences of the success of lord Clive, the encroachments of the company's servants on the rights of the native princes, and the various abuses of power, were detailed with spirit and force.

The third harangue strikingly exemplified the rapacity of Mr. Hastings, who, on pretence of ascertaining the value of the lands of the Zemindars, put them up to auction, degraded the proprietors into mere farmers under the government, and pillaged them without remorse. He also sold offices of justice (said the orator), successions of families, guardianships, and other trusts. He abolished six provincial councils of justice and revenue, and substituted a new council, composed of his own creatures, and chiefly directed by Gunga Govind Sing, the most infamous of all villains. Having, in consideration of a liberal present, decided a contest for Dinajpour in favor of an infant rajah, he consigned this prince to the care of Debi Sing, a monster of vice and cruelty, and suffered him to farm the revenues and tyrannise over the inhabitants of the principality.

In the fourth address to the court of peers, the subject of peculation was again brought forward; and the general charge of misgovernment was ably supported.

The Benares charge exercised the talents of Mr. Fox, and displayed also the rising eloquence of Mr. Grey. Mr. Anstruther, after evidence both oral and written had been adduced, spoke judiciously on the

same head of accusation. Mr. Adam supported the cause of the Begums against their unfeeling oppressor; and Mr. Sheridan, in three admired speeches, exposed in the strongest light the delinquency of the governor.

The commons had been urged by sir Gilbert Elliot to impeach sir Elijah Impey, on six grounds. The chief article was that which related to Nunducumar, who, having given offence to Mr. Hastings by threatening to expose his mal-practices, had been tried on a charge of forgery, condemned by Impey, and hanged at Calcutta. The house, having heard the defence of the judge, did not consider the law as inapplicable to the case of the unfortunate rajah; and therefore rejected the charge. The other articles were also exploded.

The public attention was now turned to the increasing disorder in the affairs of France, and to the war which the Russians and Austrians carried on against the Turks. But, in the autumn, a subject of more intimate concern excited alarm.

The royal family had passed some weeks at Cheltenham, where his majesty drank the mineral waters for the benefit of his health. Here he exhibited occasional symptoms of eccentricity, which, however, were little noticed at the time. After his return to Windsor and to Kew, his deportment became still more extraordinary; and it was announced that he was alarmingly indisposed: but it soon appeared that his life was not in danger; for his malady was that of the mind. It was supposed that he had lived too abstemiously for the great exercise which he daily took; and that his frame was thus weakened, and his brain injured. Others, affecting greater sagacity, endeavoured to account for their sovereign's derangement by different allegations and reasonings.

The minister was alarmed at an indisposition which

required the appointment of a regent. He knew that it would be invidious to oppose the pretensions of the prince of Wales to that office; and, as he was not in favor with his royal highness, he apprehended that his ambitious rival would have an opportunity of superseding him. On pretence of due decorum and delicacy, and of the necessity of mature deliberation, he resolved to delay what he might not be able to prevent, and to restrict, as far as his influence would allow, the power of the future regent.

The question which arose from the king's indisposition may easily be decided on constitutional principles. As the aggregate body of the parliament consists of three parts, not one of which can legislate without the consent of the other two branches, a seeming difficulty may strike some observers, who may be induced to think that the temporary disability of one branch must vitiate all the proceedings of that period; for the king, they may say, can no more make laws without the lords and commons, or the peers without the king and commons, than the lower house can legislate without the sovereign and the upper house. One assembly, they add, may be supplied by new creations, and the other by new elections: but what course is to be pursued when the king is incapable of acting? Our answer is, that the two houses may assume the supreme power as far as the urgent occasion requires,—that is, until they have appointed a regent to exercise the executive authority, and to concur in legislative provisions. This procedure is more agreeable to the spirit of the constitution, than the mere acknowledgement of a supposed *right*, in the heir apparent or presumptive, to assume the regency. The heir of the crown is merely a subject; and the two assemblies are not obliged to make choice of him, although it may, in general, be expedient to delegate him to the

office. If they restrict his power, however, they seem to go beyond their duty, and by encroaching on the executive department, to transgress the limits of that necessity which allowed them to name a regent.

As Mr. Fox had declared, that the prince of Wales had an exclusive right to the regency, and that the lords and commons had no liberty of choice, but ought without hesitation to adjudge it to him, Mr. Pitt, who had denied such a right in the strongest terms, submitted the abstract question (on the 16th of December) to parliamentary consideration. He stated several historic cases, to prove that the two houses had a right of choice ; and moved a resolution, importing that it was the *right* and *duty* of those assemblies to "provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's indisposition, in such a manner as the case might appear to require." Mr. Fox replied, that none of the cases adduced included the circumstance of the majority or full age of a prince of Wales ; and he strenuously maintained his former assertions. The motion, however, was adopted by a plurality of 64 votes ; and, by another resolution, it was declared to be necessary, that the two houses should "determine on the means whereby the royal assent might be given in parliament to such a bill as they might pass respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on behalf of the king." The illegality of the proposed bill was asserted by lord North and Mr. Burke, who strongly reprobated the intended use of the great seal by ministers who had no authority for such extraordinary proceedings.

The resolutions were warmly opposed in the house of peers ; and the friends of the prince recommended an

address, requesting him to assume the regency ; but a A. D. majority of 33 rejected this proposal. The lords 1789. having signified their concurrence with the commons, Mr. Pitt framed a plan of limitation, to the great disgust of Mr. Fox and his adherents. It was agreed that the prince should be regent, but that he should not be allowed to grant pensions or offices for life, or confer a peerage upon any individual except the sons of the king ; and that the queen, with the aid of a council, should be empowered to regulate the household, appoint and displace all the officers of that department, and take charge of the royal person. These restrictions were plausibly defended by the lord-president Camden, and by Mr. Grenville, who had succeeded Mr. Cornwall as speaker of the house of commons ; but Mr. Fox and other members condemned them as invidious in their object and mischievous in their tendency. They were sanctioned by each house ; and the prince, although he was disgusted at a scheme which threatened discord and inefficiency, promised to act as regent. He was treated with less disrespect by the Irish peers and commons, who voted an address, requesting him to govern Ireland in his father's name, with "all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, belonging to the crown."

The great seal was now put to a commission for opening the British parliament ; and warm debates attended the progress of the bill which contained the plan of regency. The discussion of the bill was protracted by its advocates, who hoped that their sovereign might in the mean time recover the soundness of his mind. The leaders of the opposite party wished to hasten its completion ; but, by proposing a renewal of inquiry into the state of the royal patient, they obstructed their own

views ; and the progress of the bill was so delayed, that, while it was yet depending in the house of lords, the king's approach to convalescence was announced by the chancellor, who, in consequence of this pleasing prospect, proposed an adjournment. Farther postponements were ordered by the peers : and it was at length declared that his majesty was able to resume his functions.

The leaders of opposition affected to partake of the general joy which pervaded a loyal nation ; but their joy was less sincere than that which was manifested by the majority of each house. From the exultation of some members of the party in their previous speeches, it was concluded that the mortification of disappointment was severely felt under the exterior of cheerfulness and satisfaction.

After the king's recovery, the session was not distinguished by interesting debates or remarkable statutes. When the parliament was prorogued, it was intimated from the throne, that, although the good offices of three allied powers (Britain, Prussia, and the United Provinces) had not " hitherto been effectual for restoring the general tranquillity of Europe, the extension of hostilities had been prevented, and the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace."

In the preceding year, the king of Sweden, offended at the intrigues of Russian emissaries among his subjects, jealous of the aggrandisement of the aspiring czarina, and desirous of recovering some portion of the territories which had formerly belonged to his realm, had commenced a war with the empress. He had endeavoured in vain to draw the Danes into an alliance : they were engaged by treaty to assist the Russians, if the latter should be attacked by the Swedes. He was

encouraged, however, by a subsidy from the Turkish sultan, and hoped to procure assistance from Great-Britain.

The three allies offered their mediation between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm; but Catharine rejected the offer. Their next step was to intimidate the prince of Denmark, who governed for his incapable father. Mr. Elliot, the British envoy, acted on this occasion with great spirit. He menaced the Danes with a vigorous attack, if they should persist in their hostilities against the Swedes. The prince at first resented this interference; but, with the consent of the czarina, he at length promised to be neutral.

During the interval of peace which followed the recognition of American independence, the British nation so highly flourished in arts and prospered in commerce, that the permanent burthens consequent on a rash war seemed scarcely to be felt, or did not prove so grievous or oppressive as ill-boding fancy had represented them. The traffic with the subjects of the United States increased the revenue, without the charges of protection and defence. The plan for the gradual redemption of the public debt contributed to support the credit of the funds, and held out to the sanguine a favorable prospect. Amidst the retrieval of national prosperity, individual happiness was more prevalent and observable. The spirit of party declined in force and malignity; and social pleasure was more fully enjoyed. Such, in a general view, was the state of Great-Britain, when a neighbouring kingdom exhibited symptoms of commotion, which, though not immediately portending danger to this country, and not viewed by the people with dread or alarm, excited some degree of anxiety in the cabinet.

CHAPTER XIV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1789—1792.

THAT freedom of inquiry which produced the reformation of religion, extended its effects to the amelioration of government: but its advantageous consequences, in this respect, were slow and gradual. In the countries which retained the catholic establishment, the authority of despotism could not be expected to suffer any considerable diminution; and, in the states which had received the light of protestant reform, the sovereigns were still tenacious of their supposed rights and accustomed prerogatives. Queen Elizabeth, for instance, was inclined to tyrannise both in church and state; yet the clamors and exertions of the puritans, in her reign, were favorable to the cause of liberty. Those convulsions, however, which proved fatal to the first Charles, checked the growth of freedom by leading to the formation of an arbitrary republic. Charles the Second and his brother would have suppressed all remains of liberty, if their power had corresponded with their inclinations: but their misgovernment occasioned that memorable revolution of which we still feel the beneficial effects. The true nature of freedom was then better understood, than it was in the time of Cromwell. The conduct of the British nation tended to open the eyes of the people in other countries; but slavery had taken too firm a hold to be easily shaken off.

Amidst the blaze of genius which distinguished the age of Louis the Fourteenth (who promoted the arbi-

trary views of Charles and James, but could not prevent the Revolution) a greater force of thought and a more acute spirit of discrimination, than had before appeared in France, may be supposed to have prevailed; and the abuses of government must have been perceived in all their extent and variety. But the vigor and policy of that monarch repressed the effusions of discontent and the murmurs of patriotism. Under the succeeding prince, the voice of freedom was sometimes heard, particularly in the remonstrances of the parliaments; tyranny assumed a less stern aspect, and was less violent in its operations. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and more obviously after that of Paris, the rulers of France and of the other European states evinced a greater regard for the welfare and accommodation of the people, and a more prompt inclination to mitigate the rigors of government.

While these symptoms of improvement cheered the philosopher and the philanthropist, the American war broke out; and the court of Versailles engaged in the contest, without foreseeing the consequences. Acting as auxiliaries in the cause of liberty, the French began to think that a prince who thus employed them ought to impart that blessing to his own subjects; and, after their return from the colonial war, they propagated ideas and schemes of political reform with great zeal and success. Louis the Sixteenth and his ministers were at that time involved in the most perplexing difficulties. The war had so drained the treasury, and so increased the public debt, that a national bankruptcy was apprehended. Desirous of receiving salutary advice at this crisis, the king called to his court an assembly of *notables*, or men of distinction and respectability; but their suggestions were of little use. He afterwards imposed some taxes by his own authority; and, on the re-

fusal of the Parisian parliament to confirm them, banished the in compliant members into Champagne. As the people favored the parliament, he relaxed in his firmness; but he again assumed an arbitrary tone, and the contest was prolonged until he promised to assemble the states of the realm, which had been discontinued from the reign of Louis the Thirteenth.

The representatives of the people being suffered by the court to extend their number to six hundred, so as to be equal to the nobles and clergy conjoined, the two higher orders began to fear the predominance of the *tiers état*, or third estate, because they had reason to believe that many individuals of their number would support the commons. The next object of the popular party was the consolidation of the orders, to which the privileged classes refused to agree. Disregarding this opposition, the usurping commons gave themselves the appellation of "the national assembly;" alleging that, as their meeting was already composed of deputies returned by at least ninety-six in a hundred of the nation, they had a right to begin the great work of reform, whether the nobility or the clergy would join them or not.

Many of the clergy being intimidated by the menaces of the rabble, and others courted by the leaders of the *tiers état*, a majority voted for a junction. The nobility, however, were still unwilling to agree to the union: but, in compliance with an order from their intimidated sovereign, they at length joined the commons.

From this time the French revolution may be said to have commenced; for the democratic party had now acquired the ascendancy, and the most important changes were expected from the zeal of pretended improvement. The French had now an opportunity of exploding abuses and grievances, and establishing a limited monarchy, resembling that of Great-Britain, and,

in some respects, superior to our boasted government. But they were unwilling to follow old models, and had not a sufficient degree of judgement or patriotism to frame such a system as might exclude wild innovation, and ensure the welfare of the people. Many of the deputies were men of talents; and some were distinguished by learning and science; but prudence, sober reflexion, and soundness or consistency of principle, did not frequently appear in the deliberations of the assembly.

In planning the overthrow of despotism, the advocates of the sovereignty of the people instigated the inhabitants of Paris to attack a prison in which many innocent persons had fallen victims to tyranny. The reigning prince, indeed, had rarely made use of *lettres de cachet*, and the Bastille was almost unoccupied; but, as it was apprehended that it might again be filled, it was stormed by the people and a part of the soldiery, and quickly demolished. The ministers of Louis would not at first believe the report of the capture of the Bastille: but the intelligence was soon found to be alarmingly indisputable. The king was appalled by the shock; and he resolved, instead of opposing the revolutionary torrent, to submit to the will of the great council of the nation.

M. Necker, being supposed to have accelerated the revolution, by his folly or treachery, had been dismissed from the cabinet; but the clamors of the people, who considered him as an able financier and a sincere friend of liberty, prompted Louis to recall him; and he was at the head of the administration when it was decreed, with his assent, that the king should only have a suspensive *veto*, or the power of suspending, not absolutely prohibiting, the enactment of laws which he might disapprove. Even the power that was ostensibly allowed

to him, however, he was not patiently suffered to exercise.

The assembly proceeded in the work of regeneration ; and a new constitution, outwardly monarchical, but intrinsically republican, was gradually prepared. In the mean time, the partisans of the court, in all the provinces, were discountenanced and insulted. Unprovoked murders were committed with impunity : many of the *châteaux* of the nobles were plundered and demolished ; and the name of *aristocrat* became a term of reproach and a signal of outrage. Some of the acts of cruelty perpetrated on these occasions, were such as could only have been expected from savages or from canibals ; and the recital of them would shock a feeling heart. But they were less atrocious than many of the subsequent enormities, which exceeded even the sanguinary excesses of pagan Huns, Mohammedan Arabs, and catholic Spaniards.

This extraordinary revolution could not fail to attract the anxious notice of Europe. With regard to its effects upon the feelings of our countrymen, we may observe, that many beheld the phænomenon with pleasure, some with suspicion and jealousy, others with anxiety and alarm. The friends of liberty rejoiced in the extension of that blessing to the subjects of another state, without considering whether the symptoms of freedom promised to be permanent, or were likely to give way to an altered form of despotism. Some politicians apprehended, that the French might be enabled, by the benefit of a free constitution, to become more formidable rivals of the English in commerce and the arts, and perhaps in arms and in power. Not a few imagined, that a volatile people, being unprepared for the cool and steady reception of the light of liberty, might be dazzled by its glare, rush blindly into excesses

inconsistent with due subordination, and be influenced by characteristic vanity to obtrude upon neighbouring nations their new ideas and their crude reforms.

While Louis was yielding to the force of revolutionary freedom, the emperor Joseph was prosecuting a wild career of despotism. On pretence of reforming abuses in the government of the Netherlands, he not only violated those privileges which rested on the basis of prescription, but annulled the rights and immunities granted by solemn instruments and charters.

This prince fancied himself born to reform and enlighten society. He was continually framing new projects, and was obstinate in the enforcement of all, until his fickle mind superseded them by others. He had not the requisite wisdom and judgement for a statesman; and, though he possessed some private virtues, he was not qualified to govern a nation. His capricious tyranny produced an insurrection in Brabant; and the revolt was so quickly and widely propagated, that only one of the Netherland provinces remained under his yoke. Humbled by misfortune, he implored the interposition of the kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, for the conciliation of the revolters. But the former, offended at the conduct of a prince who had acceded to the armed neutrality, and had annulled the treaty for the Dutch barrier, declined a compliance with his wishes; and the latter exulted in the distress of a rival.

A.D. The emperor, whose health was disordered, 1790. did not long survive the loss of his Belgic territories. He was succeeded by his brother Leopold, who endeavoured to reclaim the revolters, by promising a restoration of their privileges, and, on their rejection of his overtures, prepared to subdue their opposition by arms. While his troops were on their march, he solicited the mediation of Great-Britain, Prussia, and Hol-

land; and a congress was holden at the Hague. A day was fixed for the acceptance of his offers; but, when they were so altered as not to be perfectly satisfactory, the time was suffered by the provincials to elapse without the desired submission. The army then rushed into the Netherlands, recovered Brussels, and restored the authority of the house of Austria. The king of Prussia sharply remonstrated with Leopold on his refusal to re-establish the unaltered constitution, and his orders for military violence; and our sovereign sent the earl of Elgin to Vienna, to recommend more honourable conduct. Count Merci, at the congress, signed such a convention as the mediating powers had proposed: but Leopold would not ratify this agreement, and the offended allies forbore to sanction his varied terms. He thus recovered the provinces without the full concessions or guaranty which the inhabitants wished, and inflamed that disgust which hastened their subjection to another power.

The change which had taken place in France was soon noticed in the British parliament. In a debate respecting the number of troops which ought to be kept up, Mr. Fox took an opportunity of applauding the conduct of the French soldiery, who, not forgetting that they were citizens, had joined the people against the tyranny of the court; and he observed, that in this and some other points the recent revolution resembled that of England. Mr. Burke imputed to the French troops a very reprehensible spirit of sedition, and denied the resemblance mentioned by his friend. Our revolution, he said, was founded on legitimate and constitutional principles: that of France was the offspring of an ardent thirst of innovation, of intemperate zeal, and of a restless spirit of insubordination. One was conducted with regularity and moderation: the other

with wanton licentiousness and anarchical ferocity. No real improvement could be expected from such a beginning. The career of such rash innovators promised nothing valuable, and threatened the most mischievous consequences.

The proceedings of the Gallic revolutionists, particularly in the seizure of ecclesiastical property, were again reprobated by Mr. Burke, when a motion had been made for a compliance with the wishes of the dissenters. The majority not only rejected this request, but also refused to adopt, at this critical time, a scheme of parliamentary reform. In the debate on the latter topic, Mr. Windham represented the present constitution of the house as adequate to every useful purpose; and he added, that, even if some new regulations seemed to be requisite for its improvement, it was a very improper time to risque an experiment, when a hurricane was blowing in the neighbourhood.

The inquiries into the slave trade were continued in this session: but the decision was postponed. The merchants and planters exerted all their interest against an abolition; and some of them misrepresented the motives and vilified the characters of the advocates for that very justifiable measure.

The high territorial pretensions of the Spaniards, and acts of violence resulting from those claims, now produced an application to the parliament for the means of enforcing satisfaction. At Nootka (or king George's) Sound, they had seized some British ships on pretence of encroachment, and detained the seamen as prisoners; and a building, fortified with a view to the security of the trade in furs, had also been taken. As the territory did not belong to the subjects of Spain, being very remote from the northern part of California, reparation for the outrage was demanded in a high tone by his

Britannic majesty, who equipped an armament for the chastisement of the enemy, in default of satisfaction. Being unsupported by France, the court of Madrid condescended to make atonement for the alleged aggression, and agreed to full restitution and indemnification.

The negotiations with Spain were yet depending, when the king and his confederates were employed in mediating a peace between Leopold and the Turks. They found some difficulty in procuring his compliance; but they at length prevailed by expostulation and menace.

When a new parliament assembled, Mr. Pitt found that the elections had been favorable to his ascendancy and power. Both houses signified their approbation of the agreement with Spain; and the taxes required for the charges of the armament were readily voted.

The trial of Mr. Hastings had been regularly continued from the year 1788: but, as a dissolution of the parliament had intervened, it was the opinion of many that the impeachment had *abated*, and ought to be considered as at an end. But this conclusion was adverse to the true spirit of the constitution. The arguments for the abatement were urged with plausibility by the solicitor-general Scott, Mr. Hardinge, and Mr. Erskine, who contended that it was not only supported by the general complexion of parliamentary proceedings, and by the principles of the courts of common law, but by precedents which might be found in the journals of the house of peers. It was maintained, on the other hand, that the high court of parliament was at all times an existing court, as the privileges of its members were not annulled or abridged by a prorogation or dissolution: and that an impeachment was not merely an act of the house of commons, but of all the commons of Great-Britain. The rights of the judges and prosecu-

tors therefore remained unimpaired, notwithstanding the suspension of the means of acting ; and a trial, left unfinished at the dissolution, ought to be considered as still depending, and to be carried on at the next meeting, instead of being either quashed, or brought forward *de novo*. On this topic, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox concurred ; and Mr. Addington, the new speaker of the house, satisfactorily supported this side of the question, which was sanctioned by a majority of 113. In the upper house, Mr. Grenville (who had been ennobled, and appointed secretary of state) joined lord Loughborough A.D. in defending the vote of the commons against 1791. the lord chancellor and the chief-justice Kenyon ; and the popular cause was also vindicated, against that exercise of the prerogative which might obstruct the progress of justice, by the high authorities of the earls Camden and Mansfield, although they did not harangue the peers on this important subject.

The opposers of the traffic in slaves again urged the house of commons to vote for its abolition : but mercantile illiberality prevailed for its continuance. The planters in the West-Indies pretended that they could not cultivate the islands without frequent additions to the old stock of negroes.

While those cultivators were thus suffered to receive fresh supplies of enslaved human beings, the king provided for the improvement of their means of subsistence and comfort, by sending out two ships to convey, from Otaheite to the West-Indies, the bread-fruit tree and other vegetable productions, calculated for various purposes of utility. A former voyage of this kind had proved unsuccessful, in consequence of a mutiny among the crew.

The ministry had long deliberated on the means of improving the government of Canada ; and a bill was

now framed, establishing separate governments in that province, for the purpose of fully distinguishing the British colonists from those of Gallic extraction. It conceded the right of taxation, and was less favorable to the crown than the act of the year 1774; but Mr. Fox considered it as not sufficiently consonant with those enlightened principles of liberty which seemed to be hastening into general adoption. He did not approve the constitution either of the house of assembly or the council. The former, he said, ought to be composed of many representatives beyond the small number assigned by the bill: and, instead of seven years, it ought to be dissolved and renewed once in three years. The latter ought to be formed by free and frequent election, not to consist of individuals appointed by the king for life, or of hereditary members. Indeed, the government of the United States of North-America seemed to him preferable in these respects; but the minister protested against a republican model. On the re-commitment of the bill, a debate of an extraordinary complexion occurred. On a former day Mr. Fox had bestowed high praise on the wisdom and patriotism evinced by the national assembly of France, in the formation of the new code of law and government. As Mr. Burke's sentiments were totally different, he could not conceal his disgust and indignation; and he now resolved to counteract the influence of such a panegyric. In discussing the merits of the new Canadian constitution, he exposed the demerits of that of France, and signified his strong detestation of the conduct of the revolutionists. He was repeatedly called to order for wandering from the subject of the bill; and a warm altercation arose. When the clamor had subsided, Mr. Fox declared that he would persist in the opinions which he had delivered; and he applauded the French

revolution as "one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind." He did not expect that his friend, who had so long been an advocate for liberty, would now desert that cause, and abuse all who supported it. From that friend he had derived almost the whole of his political knowledge: yet he would not condescend to follow the changes even of so great an orator and statesman, but would defend the rights of man against every attack. Mr. Burke replied with asperity; and Mr. Fox, rising with an effusion of tears, regretted the dissolution of a long subsisting friendship; he then renewed his animadversions on the language, behaviour, and principles, of his eloquent antagonist.

Of the two great men, who from this time ceased to act in concert, short characters may here be given.

Mr. Fox, at an early age, manifested extraordinary talents and a strong mind. He was not remarkable for application; but, when he was occasionally diligent, he quickly learned whatever he studied. Amidst a career of dissipation, he was introduced into the house of commons; a scene well calculated for the display of his abilities. His eloquence soon distinguished him from the ordinary class of speakers. Animated and vehement, like Demosthenes, he, as it were, carried his auditors with him; aroused their feelings, and enchained their attention. At one time, he was pleasingly declamatory; at another, forcibly argumentative. As a statesman, he was discerning and enlightened, bold and decisive. Temporising measures did not suit his determined spirit. That he was fond of power, appeared from his coalition with a minister whom he had uniformly censured as weak and incompetent, obstinate in error, a promoter of tyranny, and an enemy to his country. If such was his real opinion of lord North, he ought not to have coalesced with him: if he threw out invectives in sport,

without considering whether they were deserved, no parliamentary privilege could justify the very intemperate language which he frequently used. When he afterwards praised the object of his former abuse, what could the public think of such inconsistency, but that he altered his tone because he wished to secure an important accession of interest? It may be alleged that he only desired power with a view of directing it to the benefit of his country. That he had patriotism, we do not deny: but it was not so strong or so pure as his panegyrists pretend. He was a warm advocate for general liberty, but seemed to carry his zeal to the verge of republicanism. In private life, he was beloved for his mildness, candor, and good nature; his affability, social manners, and freedom from pride.

Mr. Burke resembled Cicero in his oratory, which was fluent, diffuse, florid, and perspicuous. He was ready to harangue upon any subject whatever; and he adorned every topic with rhetorical illustrations, and dignified it with sense and philosophy. But we remember the time when he gave disgust by the frequency of his speeches, partly because sweets are cloying, and partly from his warmth and intemperance. He was a better orator than politician: his judgement was sometimes overborne by his feelings and imagination; and his wisdom was more speculative than practical. He strenuously defended liberty when he was out of office, and perseveringly encouraged the opposition of the Americans to the views of the court. How far this conduct was consistent with his determined hostility to the French revolution, even in its earliest stage, it may not be improper to inquire. It may be argued in his defence, that he considered the Americans as resisting a claim which was repugnant to the rights of British subjects, and the French as opposing indiscriminately all the pretensions of the

government; the former, as aiming at rational freedom, and the latter, as rushing into anarchy, subverting rather than improving the old *régime*, and annihilating those institutions which might have been corrected and temperately reformed. But, in his attack upon the modern revolutionists, he seemed to forget that he had ever spoken in behalf of liberty, and to recommend those monarchical and aristocratic claims of which he lost sight in his eloquent exertions for the Americans. Liberty might be, and had been, mischievously abused by democratic violence; and, therefore, regal tyranny (he seemed to think) was to be preferred to it. His conduct might have been rendered, in a great measure, consistent; but he gave it, by his fervor and vehemence, an aspect of inconsistency, which his adversaries magnified into a glaring contradiction. Although he affected a great degree of humility in speaking of himself and his writings, he appears to have entertained a high opinion of his abilities, and, particularly, of his literary and constitutional merits, in the case of his celebrated *Reflexions on the French Revolution*. Few, he thought, were better entitled to a pension than he was for a work which so seasonably checked the torrent of democracy: yet, perhaps, if he had not written on the subject, revolutionary zeal might have been equally repressed by the good sense of the nation. When he treated of politics, he could not be temperate; he could not wholly avoid rant and virulence. In analysing the sublime and beautiful, he was more calm, dignified, and argumentative.—To this sketch we may add, that, like Mr. Fox, he was amiable in his private character. Both (though not in the same degree) were negligent of œconomy; and, therefore, both stooped to receive large donations from their political friends.

A spirited contest arose, in this session, relative to the

expediency of an armed interference, for the prevention of the immoderate aggrandisement of Russia. The czarina, although deserted by her Austrian ally, continued to harass the Turks, and demanded great advantages as the price of forbearance. Mr. Pitt, having humbled the king of Spain, was desirous of over-awing the court of Petersburg: and he offered various proposals of peace, less favorable to the empress than those on which she insisted. Her unwillingness to submit to his dictates induced him to advise the equipment of a fleet, that the remonstrances of the king and his allies might be received with respect and submission. The chief opposer of the ministry privately encouraged the pertinacity of Catharine, by intimating that a war against her was far from being the general wish of the British nation. Having concluded a peace with Sweden, she peremptorily refused to comply with the demand for the restitution of Oczakoff, and boldly asserted her pretensions to advantageous terms. The subject was very warmly debated in both houses. When Mr. Pitt had argued in support of the balance of power, Mr. Fox ridiculed that restless jealousy which prompted the minister to search the continent for a pretext of war; and he denied the necessity of checking the empress on this occasion, as she had offered to resign some important conquests, and only wished to retain a fortress and territory which would contribute to the security of an open and vulnerable part of her dominions. The premier, on the first agitation of this question, had a plurality of 98 votes, which the opposite party considered as not sufficiently decisive or commanding. A renewal of discussion—resulting from eight resolutions moved by Mr. Grey, who condemned the proposed hostilities as unjust, impolitic, and absurd—gave the court only a majority of 80. In this debate, Mr. Sheridan, contending

against the armament, manifested his political knowledge, and exercised his sarcastic severity. Mr. Baker afterwards moved for an inquiry into the justice and necessity of the object to which the preparations were directed. The attack and defence of the armament were then renewed; and a majority of 92 appeared in its support. In the house of peers, a war with Russia was deprecated as highly injurious to our commercial interests; and the minister was severely censured for converting a defensive alliance into an offensive league, and for being too subservient to the views of the court of Berlin.

The national opinion being known to be adverse to the war, the minister wisely gave way to it, and ceased to insist on the resignation of Oczakoff and the adjacent territory. Catharine, content with these acquisitions, agreed to a pacification with the Porte.

A new war having arisen in India, Mr. Fox and other members imputed it to the ambition and rapacity of the English rulers of that country, and endeavoured, but without effect, to procure a vote for the condemnation of such hostilities. The rajah of Travancour, an ally of the company, had been attacked by Tippoo, for refusing to relinquish two fortresses (obtained by purchase from the Dutch), which, the sultan alleged, were fiefs of Mysore. The invaders having (in 1790) reduced Travancour and other towns, and inhumanly ravaged the country, earl Cornwallis, who was then governor of Bengal, ordered the presidency of Madras to send an army without delay to the assistance of the Hindoo prince. An alliance was concluded both with the nizâm and the Mahrattas; and troops were dispatched from Bengal to accelerate the humiliation of the Mysorean tyrant.

On the plains of Trichinopoly, major-general Meadows,

governor of Madras, mustered an army of fourteen thousand effective men, comprehending four brigades of natives, and two of Europeans. Tippoo, alleging that he wished to be at peace with the *English rajah* (so he styled the king of Great-Britain), sent a conciliatory letter to the general, who, however, evaded a negotiation. As the troops advanced, a chain of regular fortifications rapidly submitted: Dindigul, after a fierce assault, was taken by capitulation; and Paligatcheri did not long resist. On the coast of Malabar, some engagements occurred, favorable to the British arms; and the Mysoreans were driven from the principalities of Travancour, Cochin, and Calicut.

Lord Cornwallis, early in the following year, invaded Mysore by a mountainous pass, which the enemy, expecting him in another quarter, did not defend. His first object was the acquisition of Bangalour. The town was soon taken by storm, and the fort invested. After a siege of nine days, a breach was discovered; and preparations were secretly made for an assault. The garrison could not withstand the shock. The governor was killed, and above nine hundred of his countrymen also lost their lives, the laws of war triumphing over those of humanity.

When the earl had reached the vicinity of Seringapatam, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell dislodged the enemy from a commanding post; and a more general action followed, which ended in the retreat of the sultan under the batteries of his capital. But the want of provisions produced a postponement of the siege; and, when articles of subsistence were no longer scarce, the grand attempt was deferred, as the periodical rains were approaching.

Although this campaign was indecisive, the views of the allies were promoted by the reduction of a consider-

able number of fortresses. The most defensible of these were Nundy droog and Saven-droog. The former was reduced in three weeks ; the latter in a few days.

The preparations and arrangements made by earl Cornwallis for the siege of the Mysorean capital seemed to promise success to the arms of the confederates ; and, on the other hand, Tippoo had provided such supplies, and formed works of such strength, as inspired him with confident hopes of repelling his adversaries. The right division, conducted by general Meadows, advancing by moon-light, attacked a redoubt with great spirit, and, having killed the commandant, gained the post, but did not penetrate into the island upon which the town is situated. In the mean time, the earl led the main body against the sultan's fortified camp. A part of this column quickly forced the lines, and crossed the river under the walls of the fort, piercing many of the fugitives in the water with the bayonet. Another corps assaulted Tippoo's right wing with success. The rear of the column, encountering a part of the centre and left, met with a fierce resistance, but at length obtained the advantage in the conflict. Colonel Maxwell, who commanded the left division of the army, had already scaled the Carighaut hill, stormed the works, and entered the island.

The siege of the fort was now commenced in form, and the city invested on its two principal sides. The approaches were regularly made ; and Tippoo, harassed and confined, began to despair of preserving his capital. He therefore sent messengers to treat of peace, which was adjusted (in March 1792) on the terms dictated by lord Cornwallis. He was allowed to retain only one half of his territories, and obliged to pay above four millions sterling. The spoils, both in land and money, were divided among the allied powers :

and, while the Mahrattas and the nizam were thus better enabled to defend themselves against the ambition of the sultan, the British dominions were greatly strengthened and augmented.

Tippoo, during this war, had dispatched an envoy to Europe to solicit aid from the French; but, as they were fully engaged at home, they disregarded his application. They continued their labors for the apparent purpose of framing such a monarchy as might be compatible with popular freedom; but they did not leave sufficient power to the king to act as the guardian of the state, or provide for public tranquillity.

The most determined enemies of Louis were a bold and factious party called *Jacobins* from the monastery in which they assembled. They had *organised* clubs in various parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of *disorganising* the state. They cherished the most ambitious views, which they prosecuted with extraordinary zeal: but they could not, at this time, command a majority in the assembly.

Mirabeau, one of the leaders of the revolution, still retained an attachment to monarchy, or imagined that he might more effectually promote his interest by supporting the royal cause against the democratic faction, than by encouraging the views of so violent a party. He proposed to the ministry the dissolution of the assembly, and the re-convocation of the states-general on a model which might unite the interests of the king and the people: but he died before the scheme was matured.

When the constitution was completed, Louis announced, in a letter to the assembly, his acceptance and confirmation of it. A dissolution of that body soon followed; and a new assembly met to exercise the powers delegated by the recent code.

The new emperor was less tyrannical than his predecessor, less rash and violent: yet he had a high opinion of the rights of sovereigns, and wished to rescue his brother-in-law the French king from his present degradation. He hoped to be able to effect this object by keeping up a force which might overawe the enemies of Louis, without entering into an actual war. In an interview with the Prussian monarch at Pilnitz, it was declared in writing, that, if other powers would concur with them, they would endeavour, by promptitude and vigor of action, to furnish the king of France with an opportunity of establishing a regular and patriotic monarchical government; and that, in the mean time, they would prepare their troops for service. There is no proof of the adjustment of a treaty, on this occasion, for the partition of the French territories: but this declaration, added to the result of a previous conference at Mantua between the count d'Artois and the emperor (proposing the advance of various armies to the borders of France), and to a solemn appeal in behalf of Louis, promulgated at Padua, tended to alarm the French, and to rouse their indignation against those princes who presumed to interfere in the internal arrangements of an independent state.

After Louis had given his assent to the new constitution, the emperor affected to disclaim all thoughts of interference: but his sincerity was doubted by the French. He was, indeed, perplexed and undetermined: at one time he threatened; at another he spoke the language of conciliation.

The French emigrants had been forbidden by Leopold to assemble in arms in the Netherlands; but the elector of Treves suffered them to make preparations for war. As the rulers of France resented this encouragement of their enemies, the danger of an attack upon

Treves induced the emperor to promise military aid to the elector. Incensed at this promise, the assembly required from Leopold, a renunciation of all conventions directed against the sovereignty, honour, and safety of the nation. In reply to this requisition, he vindicated the concert of powers, and maintained the expediency of a provisional alliance while France was in such a state of disorder. This answer was loudly reprobated at Paris; and the cry of war prevailed: but, before the storm burst forth, his imperial majesty died. A. D. War was soon after declared against his son, 1792. Francis the second, who had announced his intention of promoting that confederacy and union of interests which had already excited such alarm in France.

Neutrality, on this occasion, was the professed system of the king of Great-Britain: but it was not probable that he would long adhere to it. After a partial survey of the affairs of Europe (we say *partial*, because it was not so *general* as to include France), he expressed his confident hope, that the "continued and progressive improvement in the internal situation of the country" would confirm and increase the "steady and zealous attachment" of his subjects to that constitution under which the nation flourished. Mr. Fox animadverted on the silence of his majesty in one respect. Mention had been made, in the speech, of the "inestimable blessings of liberty and order;" yet nothing was said of the violent interruption of them at Birmingham (in the preceding summer), where some places of sectarian worship, and the houses of Priestley and other dissenters had been burned by the pretended friends of the constitution, merely because the Gallic revolution had been quietly commemorated at a house of entertainment. The king, it was said, ought to have stigmatised these proceedings with strong reprobation.

The East-Indian war, the armament against Russia, and the slave trade, again became the subjects of debate. The war was pronounced justifiable by a vote of the commons: both houses refused to censure the conduct of the ministry on the second question; and, on the third topic, when the lower house had voted that the traffic should be abolished at the beginning of the year 1796, the peers were unwilling to concur in the measure.

A popular bill, framed by Mr. Burke, and proposed in 1771—establishing the right of a jury to give, in cases of libel, a verdict not only upon the fact of publication, but also upon the law and the supposed intention—had not been successful. But a similar bill, now brought forward by Mr. Fox, was defended against the arbitrary chancellor and the prejudiced chief justice by the venerable patriot Camden, and honored with enactment. Mr. Pitt was one of the supporters of this measure; and he obtained additional applause from the public for repealing some taxes, and extending by a new bill the efficacy of the sinking fund.

The example of the French having produced some democratic societies in England, and encouraged Paine and other malcontents to libel the constitution, a proclamation appeared (on the 21st of May) against seditious writings, and sinister correspondence with foreigners. The attentive vigilance of the king, at so critical a time, was praised not only by the ministerial members, but by some who had been in the habit of opposing the court. The heir apparent supported the expediency of the proclamation, and declared his preference of the salutary maxims of established practice to the wild ideas of untried theory.

The revolution which (in 1791) had been effected in Poland, was of a different nature from that of France.

It involved genuine reform, and was conducted with temper and judgement. It provided for the rescue of the king from the yoke of the nobles, and of the people from slavery. The courts of London and Berlin promoted its accomplishment; but neither of them would support it by arms against the violence of the czarina, who, pretending that she wished to restore law and liberty to Poland, sent a powerful host to attack the advocates of the new system. The barbarian invaders were victorious; and the constitution was quickly subverted. After an interval of submission, the Poles took arms (in 1794) against their oppressors, but were completely vanquished. The kingdom had been dismembered in the year 1772; and the empress, the king of Prussia, and the Austrian potentate, now took possession of the remaining provinces.

CHAPTER XV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1792—1794.

IN times of perturbation, men who entertain different views will apparently unite, and prosecute their course with exterior amity, until they arrive at a certain point. Those who are not content with the progress which they have made in pretended reform, will then take an opportunity of separating from the less violent party, and endeavour to establish their power amidst the confusion which they and their former associates have created. Such was the case among the adversaries of the first Charles; and a similar separation of parties occurred in France. The opposers of Louis—those who were

friendly to a limited monarchy, such as wished for a regular republic, and the Jacobins or disorganising faction—co-operated at first in weakening the royal authority, and enervating the arm of hereditary despotism. When they had succeeded in this point, the first party wished to stop: but the second and third testified a desire of proceeding. In the sequel, when the Brissotins or Girondists, and the Jacobins, had concurred in forming a republic, the latter used every exertion for the overthrow of the former, and, by enlisting the populace in their cause, completely triumphed over their rivals.

From the second assembly, all who belonged to the former were excluded by their own desire; and it did not include any of the nobles or clergy, considered as such, but was wholly formed by popular election. It contained very few royalists, being almost entirely composed of the constitutional party and the Jacobins. The debates were more disorderly than those of the former assembly, the speakers less able, and the proceedings more violent.

The orator who had the greatest influence in this assembly, was Brissot. He was high in the ranks of the Jacobin faction, but, not being disposed to proceed to such extremities of violence as Robespierre and some other members of the club, he resolved to secede from it, and form a separate party. As he was known to be unfriendly to monarchical power, the king had no hopes of obtaining his cordial support, and therefore courted the club of the Feuillans, consisting of moderate reformers. But the intrigues and the clamors of the Jacobins prevented him from profiting by such a negotiation. These incendiaries obstructed all his views, calumniated his best intentions, and vilified his character with systematic malignity.

The Prussian monarch, suffering his jealousy of Aus-

tria to subside, had resolved to take arms for the rescue of Louis from degradation and peril; and he hoped that the spirited co-operation of the well-disciplined troops of two powerful princes would check the progress of the revolution, and crush the Jacobin phalanx. The duke of Brunswick published a manifesto in vindication of the views of the allies, disclaiming all thoughts of conquest, and professing only an intention of relieving the royal prisoner, and of punishing his adversaries with exemplary rigor. A more elaborate declaration followed, in the names of the allied princes, tracing the horrors of the revolution, and asserting the necessity of extinguishing a volcano, which threatened to inflame the whole civilised world.

The king's danger was now extreme. He had with difficulty escaped the vengeance of the infuriate rabble, in a late attempt of the assembly to enforce his confirmation of some violent decrees. A more determined attack was planned by Brissot and his associates. A numerous body of insurgents assaulted the palace, from which the royal family had been escorted to the hall of the assembly; overpowered the Swiss guards, not without great loss on the part of the aggressors; killed almost the whole number; and rioted in spoil and blood. The king was falsely accused of having ordered his soldiers to attack the people; and the Brissotins and Jacobins loudly called for his dethronement.

The assembly, alleging the alarming extent of the dangers of the country, arising from the supposed misconduct of the executive power, decreed that a national convention should be speedily formed, and that Louis should, in the mean time, be suspended from his functions. An arbitrary tribunal was now instituted, for the summary trial of persons accused of treason against the sovereignty of the people. Domiciliary visits for

pretended delinquents were ordered; and a multitude of royalists were imprisoned at Paris. Most of these objects of democratic odium, particularly the priests, were murdered by the populace, at the instigation of Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and Tallien. At Rheims, Lyons, and other towns, atrocities of the same complexion were perpetrated.

The advance of the duke of Brunswick was followed by the reduction of Longuy and Verdun; but Dumouriez, posted in Champagne, kept the invaders in check. The king of Prussia, the French princes, and the Austrian officers, wished to push forward into the heart of France: but the duke remonstrated against the bold attempt, as rash and dangerous. He endeavoured, without success, to prevail on Dumouriez to turn his arms against the Jacobins. The combined forces at length retreated, when a dysentery had thinned their numbers, and when famine menaced them with her horrible visitation.

The convention consisted chiefly of low, ignorant, and unprincipled deputies, whose proceedings stamped the French name with infamy. Not content with abolishing royalty, they arraigned, as a traitor to his country, a prince who loved his people, and who had endeavoured to promote their welfare and happiness. But, before we state the result of the trial, various incidents demand our notice.

A proposal of alliance with the French government had been disregarded by the British court; and, on the suspension of Louis, our ambassador was recalled. M. Chauvelin, however, remained in England; not, indeed, as an accredited minister, but as a private foreigner. His continuance in this country, if not his intrigues, encouraged the disaffected societies to propagate their unconstitutional doctrines; and the retreat of the com-

bined enemies of France invigorated their zeal. Alarmed at the boldness of the malcontents, the king (on the 1st of December) issued a proclamation for assembling the militia, and ordered the parliament to meet before the time to which it had been prorogued; alleging recent acts of *riot* and *insurrection* as the grounds of this conduct. It does not appear that any such acts had been committed; but of the agitation of schemes not strictly agreeing with the maxims of the constitution, and of the prosecution of an unjustifiable correspondence with the French, no reasonable doubts can be entertained.

Animated debates arose from this extraordinary state of affairs. Mr. Fox denied the existence of any necessity for embodying the militia. This procedure, he said, was a fraud on the part of the ministry, who wished to dupe the people, by a false alarm, into a servile support of the measures of the cabinet. It was obvious that a war with France was meditated; but such a war would be unjust and iniquitous. Mr. Grey was no advocate for the seditious views of societies or of individuals: but he saw no danger in the intemperate folly of so small a part of the nation. The law was sufficient for the punishment of mal-practices; and the good sense of the majority of the people would prevent the ill effects of democratic intrigues. Mr. Windham, no longer acting with his former friends, vindicated the conduct of the court, and recommended vigilance and spirit, as requisite for the salvation of the country. Never, he thought, did greater peril exist. Jacobinism now reigned in France; and many of our countrymen were so eager to diffuse this baneful pest around them, that not merely the English constitution, but religion, civilisation, law, and social order, were highly endangered. Mr. Don-
das affirmed, that seditious innovators were studiously

employed in corrupting and seducing the lower classes, and that the alarm was too real to be disputed, except by factious and prejudiced persons.—In another debate, Mr. Burke warned the house of the danger which threatened the constitution from the factious attempts of daring incendiaries at home, and the efforts of republicans abroad. France, he said, wished to revolutionise every state. Holding in one hand the scroll of the rights of man, and a sword in the other, she was determined to enforce her doctrines with sanguinary zeal. It was impossible to avoid hostilities with a nation which had in effect declared war against every government. Mr. Adam replied to this invective by asserting the impolicy of suffering passion to operate in national intercourse and concerns, and by recommending a negotiation with the men (whatever might be their characters or political demerits) who enjoyed the executive power in France.

As Mr. Fox was of opinion that a war might be avoided, he moved that the king should be requested to depute an envoy, to treat with the rulers of France, as it was not more disgraceful to negotiate with them than with the tyrants of Algiers and Morocco, with whom Great-Britain had occasionally concluded treaties. Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine eloquently supported the motion; but it was opposed with great acrimony by many speakers, and indignantly rejected. The asperity of debate also attended the progress of a bill against aliens. It was repugnant to one of the clauses of the commercial treaty with France, but was justified by the necessity of excluding from Great-Britain the propagators of revolutionary doctrines.

It was proposed that the parliament or the king should intercede with the French government for the safety of the persecuted Louis; but Mr. Pitt thought

that such an application would irritate the imperious and intractable adversaries of that prince. Robespierre moved that he should be put to death without trial,—an atrocious suggestion, at which even the convention spurned. He was tried with apparent formality, condemned without proof of criminality, and precluded from appealing to the people in the primary assemblies. To the eternal disgrace of the French nation, the people suffered this unjust sentence to be executed. The greatest defect in the character of this benevolent prince was a want of energy and vigor. By a resolute demeanor and unyielding firmness, he might have kept the states-general within the bounds of duty and loyalty, and have crushed the seditious societies in the origin of their efforts. The risque of a little bloodshed, at that time, might have saved myriads of lives. The ancient maxim—*principiis obsta*—might have been enforced with a strong hope of its efficacy.

Chauvelin had in vain requested to be acknowledged as minister plenipotentiary of the new republic. He persisted in the demand until intelligence of the death of the unfortunate monarch reached our court: he was then ordered to depart from the kingdom without delay. A message was sent to the peers and commons, desiring that his majesty might be enabled to “take the most effectual measures for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition, on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but were particularly so when connected with the propagation of principles subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.” When a compliant answer was proposed, several members alleged, in both houses, that such an address would plunge the nation into a war, and was therefore highly

objectionable: but it was voted by each assembly without a division.

Before the parliament gave this pledge of support, war was declared by France (on the 1st of February) against his Britannic majesty and the stadtholder. This declaration was announced by the king to the two houses, in terms of indignation; and the French were accused, by Mr. Pitt and other speakers, of gross injustice and iniquity: but the charges were retorted, by other members, upon the minister and his abettors.

Addresses, breathing war, were now presented to his majesty. Motions against hostilities, from Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey, were rejected. Reprisals were ordered against the ships, goods, and subjects of France; and a bill was enacted for preventing, more effectually than existing laws could restrain, all traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Seamen were voted, to the amount of 45,000; and the military force was augmented to 27,200 men, exclusive of the troops of the colonies, and of Hanoverian soldiery.

With regard to the question of aggression, some remarks are requisite. The mere priority of the declaration of war is no proof of aggressive violence on the part of the French. Not only the majority of that nation, but the convention itself, wished for a continuance of peace with Great-Britain; but it was not easy to preserve it when our ministry, by refusing to mediate between France and the combined powers, by withholding supplies of corn, by the recall of the English ambassador and the contemptuous dismissal of the French envoy, and by various infractions of the treaty of commerce, had given strong indications of a hostile spirit. Each of these points would not justify a war: yet, taken in the aggregate, they constitute (not in equity, but according to the ordinary policy of powerful nations) such

an excuse as may invalidate the charge of aggression. The French had reason to conclude that the British monarch, unwilling to negotiate with them, would soon co-operate with the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia: they therefore resolved to anticipate the blow.

The affair of the Schelde, which the French proposed to open, was a mere pretence for war, on the part of the English. The chief reason was a dread of the prevalence of Gallic doctrines: but these might have been more effectually repressed without war than by hostilities. Some of our classical readers may say, *tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*: but we reply, that the sea would have been a sufficient barrier against the revolutionary flame, with the aid of judicious internal precautions.

The ministerial members, and their new associates, were so apprehensive of the influence of French doctrines at this crisis, that they opposed, with strenuous zeal, the adoption of a scheme of reform in the parliamentary representation. Mr. Grey contended, that the present time was as favorable as any other to the success of such a scheme, as it would conciliate the people, and repress disaffection: but Mr. Jenkinson thought, that the proposed alterations would occasion a preponderance of democracy in the legislature; and Mr. Powys, referring to the convulsed state of France, remonstrated against any attempt of supposed improvement. The premier argued against the proposal, and was satirised for his inconsistency by Mr. Fox. The scheme was discountenanced by a majority of almost seven to one.

In the progress of the extended war, the French were far more fortunate than the allies. They subdued the Netherlands, chiefly in consequence of the success of Dumouriez in the battle of Gemappe; achieved various

conquests in Germany; and, in another part of their frontier, punished the king of Sardinia for his attachment to the house of Bourbon, by the seizure of the duchy of Savoy. But, when they had received some checks from the vigor of the Austrians, and had lost their brave commander by desertion, their affairs seemed for a while to decline. In a congress holden at Antwerp, by the envoys and generals of the confederate powers, it was resolved that immediate advantage should be taken of the disordered state of the French armies; that the fortified towns of the frontiers should be besieged, the coasts harassed, and the royalists supported in schemes of revolt. The convention felt the less alarm on this occasion, as it soon appeared that few of the troops were inclined to follow the example of Dumouriez. Dampierre, the new commander, checked the Austrians who attacked him at Famars; but he met with a repulse at Quievrain. He afterward encountered Clairfait near the abbey of Vicogne, and was obliged to retire with loss. He then turned his arms against the Prussians at St. Amand. The duke of York, with British and Hanoverian troops, advanced to assist the allies of his royal father, and made an impression upon the enemy with the force of the bayonet. Dampierre was at length slain; and his countrymen retreated under the orders of La Marche. Desirous of dislodging this commander from Famars, the confederates attacked the entrenched camp. The duke, at the head of one column, displayed his courage and activity: general Ferraris, with another, stormed some advanced works, and then joined the English prince in forcing the camp; while Clairfait, who experienced a more obstinate resistance, seized the heights of Anzain. These operations facilitated the siege of Valenciennes.

The rage of party, about this time, produced an ex-

plosion at Paris. The victory which the Jacobins had obtained in the great contest respecting the murder of the king, did not extend to every point at which they aimed: but the danger to which the country was now exposed gave them at length a full preponderance, as they had the art of seducing the rabble into a belief that they were better friends to the republic, and more capable of defending it against a despotic confederacy, than the Brissotins or any other party. As they had no tie of honor, religion, or morality, to check their career of violence, they resolved to subject, to the vengeance of a packed judicature, all who dared to oppose them. Having procured from the convention, by military terror, such decrees of accusation as they wished, they gratified their animosity and ambition by the arrest of Brissot and his chief adherents, who, after being imprisoned for five months, were put to death.

In consequence of this triumph, the *guillotine* was in a constant state of requisition. Even females were not safe from the sanguinary rage of Robespierre and his faction; and innocence was no protection against the remorseless cruelty of those monsters. In the course of the year, besides a multitude of victims, the unfortunate queen was subjected to the fate of her husband, whose sister afterward suffered death because she was not a willing republican.

The allies were employed in besieging Valenciennes, when Condé was taken after a long blockade. The conduct of the siege was committed to the duke of York, who, by the advice of Ferraris, made regular approaches, according to the old style, instead of attacking at once the body of the place. When six weeks had elapsed from the opening of the trenches, several mines were sprung, and three vigorous attacks were so well

executed, that the French were driven from the horn-work and other strong parts of the line of defence. Discouraged by these operations, the governor offered to capitulate, and the place was surrendered to the emperor.

This success, and the retreat of the French army, inspired the prince de Saxe-Cobourg with the hope of penetrating to Paris. The duke of York, less sanguine, proposed a farther reduction of frontier-towns; and, separating from the Austrians and Prussians, marched with the British, Dutch, and Hanoverian troops, into the province of Flanders. Under the conduct of major-general Lake, the English guards routed above five thousand men, and destroyed the works at Lincelles. Dunkirk was now invested, after the defeat of the French at some of the neighbouring posts.

Alarmed at the progress of the invaders, the convention decreed, that all the adult males of the republic should be ready to rise in a body; and the people were commanded to provide, without hesitation or delay, all requisites for the supply of the troops. Eleven great armies were put in motion; and, by influence and terror, the Jacobins called forth all the resources of the country.

General Houchard was dispatched with a considerable force to the relief of Dunkirk. He attacked all the posts of the covering army, and gained three of the number. In another attack he was unsuccessful; but, in the third attempt, he forced the centre of the line; and the duke of York, thus endangered, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat.

The besiegers of Le Quesnoi were less unfortunate than the assailants at Dunkirk; for they compelled the garrison to submit to the emperor. The troops of this prince were opposed with vigor by general Jourdan,

and failed in an attempt upon Maubeuge; but, at Marchiennes, they slew or captured above one thousand nine hundred men.

The tyranny of the convention having given extraordinary disgust to all who were not decidedly influenced by the Jacobins, various insurrections were the consequences of this exasperation. Eight departments were in commotion; but the leaders did not cordially agree in their schemes; for some were friends to the cause of royalty, while others professed the sentiments of the Brissotins. In some districts, the insurgents were quickly reduced to submission; but, in the west and in the south, the disturbances were not easily quelled. La Vendée, and other territories to the south of the Loire, were convulsed with hostility; and, on the banks of the Rhone and the shores of the Mediterranean, sanguinary contests were eagerly prosecuted.

An English fleet, appearing in the Mediterranean, offered aid to the people of Toulon, who had declared for the constitution of the year 1791; and vice-admiral Hood took possession of the port. His catholic majesty having entered into the war, a squadron commanded by Gravina cast anchor with the English in the outer road; and a Spanish detachment was added to the British garrison, which was also reinforced by Piedmontese troops, and by the subjects of the king of Naples. The defenders of the place, however, were not sufficiently numerous to resist, for a great length of time, the multitude of fierce and active besiegers; and, when the English had possessed it about four months, a council of war resolved that it should be evacuated. The retreat was effected with little injury to the besieged, but with great loss to the enemy; for, by the active zeal of a party of seamen, headed by sir Sydney Smith, nine ships of the line and some frigates were destroyed;

and three large vessels, beside frigates and sloops, served to increase the British navy, while some were seized by the Spaniards and their catholic associates.

The French, during the greater part of the year, were unsuccessful in Germany. The duke of Brunswick surrounded three thousand men at Pirmasens, and obliged them to become prisoners. The lines of Lautrebourg and Wissembourg were forced: Haguenau and other fortified towns were reduced; and general Wurmser obtained a considerable victory after an obstinate engagement. But fortune, in the sequel, favored the republicans. Hoche, formerly a groom, roused their ardor; and, in concert with Pichegru, re-took the chief posts, and drove back the confederates over the Rhine, greatly diminished in their number.

The French, attributing to the energy of Robespierre and his associates the success of their arms in the latter part of the campaign, submitted more patiently to the system of terror, than they otherwise would have borne it. For the honor of humanity, we must conclude that the majority execrated the unfeeling tyrant: but he had acquired such a plenitude of power, that it was extremely dangerous to oppose him. Under the appearance of a simple citizen, he enjoyed more than the authority of a king, and subjected his countrymen to a degree of sanguinary tyranny, which Louis the Fourteenth, in the meridian of his power, would not have dared to exercise.

A. D. 1794. When his Britannic majesty again addressed the parliament, he justly characterised the Robespierrean gozernment as a system which "openly violated every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion;" but he was less justified in affirming, that the efforts of the enemy were only temporary, and tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of

France. As, with such a foe, a precipitate peace would be very inexpedient, he had declared, in a manifesto, that, as a foundation for a treaty, he would insist on the establishment of "some legitimate and stable government, capable of maintaining, with other powers, the accustomed relations of union and peace." The marquis of Lansdown recommended a negociation with the French; and Mr. Sheridan animadverted on the folly of presuming that they would soon be reduced to submission. They had (he said) derived strength from the war; and a continuance of hostilities, instead of exhausting their resources, would increase the vigor of their efforts. The earl of Mornington was a strenuous advocate for the prosecution of the war, until the enemy should relinquish those principles which were incompatible with the security of other nations; and Mr. Pitt contended that war was preferable to peace, while France was agitated by a revolutionary government. Mr. Fox censured that blind confidence which would plunge the nation into irremediable evils, and advised the minister to reflect on the war by which his predecessors, through self-delusion, pride, and obstinacy, had lost thirteen provinces, and immoderately augmented the national debt. The court, in one house, had a majority of 85 votes for an address which favored the war, and, in the other, of 218.

In consequence of the martial zeal of the court and parliament, 85,000 seamen were not deemed an exorbitant number; and 60,200 soldiers were voted, beside German troops. But even the short continuance of a Hessian corps in the isle of Wight, without the sanction of the legislature, aroused the jealousy of the opposition; and, in acrimonious debates, a bill of indemnity was recommended, to which, however, the ministry refused to agree, as not being conscious of sinister intentions.

When the chief supplies had been voted, a treaty was concluded with the king of Prussia, who engaged, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of 50,000 pounds, payable by Great-Britain and Holland, to employ 62,400 men in the most effectual manner against the common enemy.

As the merchants of the United States of North-America had freighted a great number of ships with corn for France, orders had been given for the detention of such vessels, and the purchase of the cargoes, that the wants of our enemies might not be supplied; and the Americans were also prevented from conveying provisions to the French colonies. These interruptions of commerce, added to a supposed encroachment on the territories of the Trans-Atlantic republic, led to an embargo on British vessels in the American ports. Debates arose in parliament on this subject; but the dispute was accommodated by the conciliatory behaviour of the cabinet, on the arrival of Mr. Jay, an envoy from the congress; and a liberal treaty of commerce was adjusted between Great-Britain and her former subjects.

The views of the societies, whose enmity to the constitution had been one of the alleged grounds of alarm before the commencement of the war, continued to be suspected by the ministry; and, as they aimed at a popular convention, it was resolved that their leaders should be apprehended as conspirators against the public tranquillity; and, to detain them in confinement, a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act was proposed. This measure was condemned by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Courtenay as a very unjustifiable violation of the rights of the people; and Mr. Grey called the attention of the premier to a resolution in which he had formerly concurred, recommending public meetings for the promotion of reform. Mr. Dundas vindicated the sus-

pension as a necessary act of precaution, and a grant of power of which the ministry would scorn to take an improper advantage. Mr. Windham was so alarmed at the machinations of the societies as to wish for coercive measures. As they aimed at universal suffrage (the evils of which might easily be foreseen), and cherished the most dangerous views, it was highly expedient, he thought, to check them without delay; and, if the existing laws were inadequate to that object, more effectual regulations ought to be immediately enacted. For this rigor of sentiment, he was lashed by the indignant eloquence of his former friend, Mr. Fox. The bill passed quickly through both houses, with a protest from the duke of Bedford and three other peers.

The king congratulated the two houses, at the close of the session, on the exploits of his brave seamen, who had obtained a signal victory. The French convention had ordered Villaret-Joyeuse, at the risque of a battle, to prevent the interception of a homeward-bound fleet laden with various supplies. He had twenty-six sail of the line and twelve frigates under his command; and earl Howe, with twenty-five ships of the former description, and seven of the latter, engaged him (on the 1st of June) at the distance of 140 leagues to the westward of the isle of Ushant. The contest was that of courage rather than of skill, almost every ship, without regard to the rest, steering toward the vessel opposed to it in situation. About an hour after the action had commenced in the centre, Villaret retired with all the ships that he could save. As the French seamen chiefly aimed at the rigging, the English ships were prevented, by the damage which they had sustained, from an effectual pursuit. One French ship of the line foundered after being taken; and three hundred of the crew were drowned: many more would have perished in the

same manner, if the victors had not exercised their usual humanity in the rescue of an endangered foe. Six vessels, from 74 to 80 guns, were captured and brought to Portsmouth. Above two thousand men are supposed to have been killed on the side of the French, and a greater number wounded; while the British seamen who lost their lives, or were wounded, were only about nine hundred.

This success allayed the depression which the continental progress of the French had produced. It was celebrated in the capital with illuminations and festivity; and general joy pervaded the kingdom.

CHAPTER XVI.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1794—1795.

THE advantages which had resulted from the levy *en masse*, so encouraged the rulers of France, that they prepared with great alacrity for another campaign. Pichegru, being appointed to the chief command in the Netherlands, endeavoured to drive the allies from Landrecies, which the hereditary prince of Orange had invested. Brisk conflicts ensued at various posts, to the detriment of the French; whose commander, intent on a more general action, placed himself near Cambray in expectation of a reinforcement. A part of his army was attacked by general Otto, and routed: the battle was renewed two days afterward, and the French were again compelled to retreat, as they also were in an engagement with the emperor's division. On a subsequent day, Pichegru retrieved his credit by a victory over Clairfait:

he also reduced Courtray and Menin, but could not save Landrecies.

While Jourdan acted with success against the Austrians in the duchy of Luxemburg, Pichegru attacked the confederates with great spirit. He was repelled with loss by the duke of York, near Tournay; but he triumphed over Clairfait near Courtray. General Kautitz, soon after, routed the enemy on the banks of the Sambre; and some posts in the Flemish province were seized by the duke.

The battle of Turcoigne was bravely contested. The duke's division, severely harassed, did not escape without very considerable loss; and the French prevailed likewise in other parts of the field. The emperor, soon after this action, relinquished all personal concern in the campaign. He was disgusted at the decline of the zeal of the Prussian monarch in the common cause; and, though not deficient in courage, he was perhaps apprehensive of falling into the hands of the enemy, from whose grasp he had been saved (during the siege of Landrecies) only by the active valor of an English regiment of light dragoons.

Hoping to weary the allies by constant exertion, Pichegru (on the 22d of May) rushed upon them with about one hundred thousand men near the Schelde; but, though he maintained the conflict for twelve hours, and seemed at one time on the point of being victorious, his opponents at length became masters of the field, after killing or wounding ten thousand of his men.

After some intervening battles, in which the French were unsuccessful, they obtained (on the 26th of June) an important victory near Fleurus. The prince de Saxe-Cobourg had the advantage in three assaults; but his utmost exertions could not prevent the triumph of

Jourdan, who, at a critical moment, led the *corps de reserve* into action, and changed the fortune of the day.

We are informed that, on this occasion, an air-balloon was promotive of the success of the French; but some say, that it was first used for a military purpose in a subsequent battle near Liege. For this invention they were indebted to the two Montgolfiers, who, in the year 1783, filled a pyriform bag of oiled silk with heated air; the lightness of which, compared with the atmosphere, enabled the bag or balloon, and its appendages, to rise to a considerable height. Other speculators improved the contrivance, by the substitution of inflammable air for that which was produced by actual fire. Many persons of both sexes, in different countries, undertook aerial journeys in cars affixed to these balloons; and, during this battle, a French adjutant-general, hovering in the air, had an opportunity of giving such information of the movements of the hostile army, as enabled Jourdan to obtain a greater advantage in the conflict than he otherwise could have commanded. In the course of the war, also, the French made frequent use of the telegraph (a machine not absolutely new); which, by signals exhibited on eminences, conveyed important intelligence in a few minutes to a great distance.

The French had taken Charleroi before the battle of Fleurus; and, when Moreau had defeated the Austrians in Flanders, the garrison of Ypres surrendered to the republic. Bruges was relinquished by the Hanoverians, as the inhabitants were disaffected to the cause of the emperor. Tournay and Oudenarde were also evacuated.

The duke of York and the earl of Moira were repeatedly attacked, and driven to the northward. The prince de Saxe-Cobourg in vain defended himself at

Mons. In Brabant he was equally unfortunate. His entrenchments were forced with great slaughter; and Brussels received a French garrison. Clairfait being defeated near Louvain, this city was soon revolutionised, as were also Namur and Antwerp; and the emperor lost nine out of the ten provinces of the Netherlands.

Inspired with a brutal ferocity of resentment, the French convention had decreed, that no quarter should be given to the British or Hanoverian troops, and that, if the garrisons of any of the towns taken within the French frontier should not surrender at the first requisition, they should be put to the sword. The republican soldiery, however, disdained to act the part of assassins. But the second of these menaces probably had some effect in accelerating the recovery of Landrecies, and of the three towns which had been reduced in the preceding campaign.

The French made considerable progress in Germany. Though their entrenchments at Kaiserslautern were forced by the Prussians, they obtained the advantage in an obstinate engagement near Edikhoffen, and triumphed over an allied army at Tripstadt. They received the submission of Treves; and, after several days of furious conflict with Clairfait, made themselves masters of Cologne. Juliers, Coblenz, and other considerable towns, were also reduced.

In the south of Europe, the French were successful against the king of Sardinia, whose troops were frequently routed, and who began to dread the loss of Piedmont, when the enemy had forced the mountainous barriers of that country. On the other hand, the republicans lost an Italian island. This was Corsica, which, when the Genoese could no longer retain it, had been annexed in 1769 to the dominions of Louis the Fifteenth, partly

by transfer, but chiefly by conquest. Pascal Paoli had roused the inhabitants to arms; and the authority of the convention was only acknowledged in three towns. These were taken by a British armament, after a spirited resistance; and the people, in a national council, decreed that the crown should be offered to his Britannic majesty.

In the West-Indies, some of the French islands were attacked with success. Tobago had been reduced in 1793; and the more flourishing and important island of Martinique was now invaded. About six thousand men landed under Sir Charles Grey, who had acquired fame in the American war; and, when various obstacles had been surmounted, the town of St. Pierre was taken. The camp on the hill of Sourier was forced; and an attack was made upon Fort-Royal, captain Faulknor advancing with the crew of his ship to the walls, and scaling them with great intrepidity. The vigor of this assault led to the acquisition of the capital; and Rochambeau, discouraged by the progress of the English general, ceased to defend Fort-Bourbon. The island of St. Lucia was soon after subdued; and a descent was made on Guadaloupe, under a brisk fire from two forts. Of Grande-Terre, the troops soon gained possession: they afterward attacked a chain of batteries in the other division of the island; and, by storming the works which defended the town of Basse-Terre, intimidated general Collot into a capitulation.

Ill success, however, soon followed. The troops, at first, were not sufficiently numerous for all the purposes of the expedition; and not only the yellow fever, but a pestilential disease imported into the West-Indies from Africa in a slave ship, made great havock among the soldiery. Taking advantage of the weakness of the

defenders, a body of French invaders stormed some of the posts; and, after fierce hostilities, Guadeloupe was completely recovered.

The propagation of the doctrine of the rights of man having kindled a flame in the French division of Hispaniola, the English were invited by many of the inhabitants to extend their protection to the suffering colonists; and various settlements were quietly surrendered to colonel Whitelocke, while Port-au-Prince and other towns were taken by force. Some of these possessions were retained for four years, at a greater expence than benefit. The English then prudently retired from the island, being not only harassed by the French, but by the *people of color* and the negroes.

The energy which the French displayed during the tyranny of the Jacobins, did not desert them on the introduction of a government comparatively moderate. To this change we now call the reader's attention, because it is connected with the history of that war in which Great-Britain took a leading part. As victory and conquest attended the French arms under the auspices of Robespierre, a veil of glory, for a time, overshadowed his barbarities: but, at length, general indignation was the prevailing sentiment through the country; and, as the life of no individual was safe while he held the rod of empire, the urgent motives of self-defence induced all, who had any remains of spirit and a due sense of their danger, to devise the means of subverting his usurped power. Tallien, and other bold representatives of the people, insisted upon his arrest: he was declared an outlaw, and put to death with his chief accomplices. His fall diffused great joy through the nation; and the victorious assembly received congratulations on its success from the departments and public bodies, and from the different armies of the republic. Some obnoxious

decrees were repealed ; a great number of prisoners were released ; commissaries were sent to various parts, to repair the mischiefs of the Robespierrian government ; and new political regulations were provisionally adopted, until a more complete constitution could be deliberately framed.

The French, after their success in the Austrian Netherlands, prepared to subdue the United Provinces. The duke of York having retired into Dutch Brabant, Pichegru pursued him, and attacked his advanced guard near the Dommel. The event of the engagement enabled the French to cross that river ; and they continued to harass the retiring army. Bois-le-Duc was invested ; and, though the adjacent country was inundated, the place did not sustain a long siege before the garrison capitulated. Venlo, Maestricht, and Nimeguen, were also reduced without extraordinary difficulty. The allies could defend the passage of the Waal before the frost had congealed its waters ; but in consequence of the severity of the winter, the French marched over the river, and transported their artillery with ease.

At the beginning of the winter, the duke of York, despairing of the preservation of Holland, as the natives were unwilling to resist the invaders, returned to England ; and his departure encouraged the anti-stadtholderian party to act openly in behalf of the French. The English and the subsidiaries hastening toward the Leck, Pichegru ordered an attack ; but, after four assaults, his troops gave way. In the next battle he triumphed by the force of number.

A retreat of the most disastrous kind ensued. For some time, the British troops had been ill-fed, ill-clothed, harassed by sickness, and shamefully neglected both by the commissaries and the medical attendants of the army. Many had died in the hospitals, and not a few

perished in their way to those receptacles of misery. But the retreat to Deventer was more strikingly unfortunate. The sick and wounded soldiers being removed in open waggons, amidst an intense frost, a considerable number died. Fatigue, hunger, and cold, destroyed many others on their march; and the survivors were involved in severe distress. They were insulted by the Dutch, and treated as aliens rather than as friends or fellow-warriors. Being pursued, they did not rest long at Deventer, where they destroyed their artillery and military stores. They proceeded to the Vecht, sometimes (from a sudden thaw) through mud and water, at other times amidst ice and snow. From that river they continued their march to the Ems, still harassed by the enemy; and at length they reached the duchy of Bremen, whence they were conveyed to England. Here they found the comforts to which they were fully entitled, and a refuge from the miseries of war.

The flight of the troops that wished to defend Holland, and the consequent dispersion of the Dutch army, opened the gates of Amsterdam to the French general; and seven flourishing provinces submitted to the sway of the Parisian convention. The prince of Orange, who, being stigmatised as the tool of England and the betrayer of his country, was with difficulty guarded from democratic vengeance, escaped with his family, and arrived safely in this island, where misfortune ever meets with pity and protection. His houses and possessions were seised, and his adherents discountenanced and persecuted. A national assembly was convoked; and the French system of government was adopted. The French affected to leave the Dutch in a state of independence; but it was merely nominal. An acceptance of the offer of fraternity from an aspiring, imperious, and powerful nation, was tantamount to a declaration of subserviency.

While the fate of Holland was yet undecided, the parliament of Great-Britain assembled. But some incidents previously occurred, the omission of which would be an inexcusable neglect. Several members of the London Corresponding Society, and of the Society for Constitutional Information, had been detained above five months in prison; and it was at length deemed expedient to bring them to trial. In Scotland, Watt and Downie had already been tried and condemned for high treason; and the former was not gratified with a pardon. Hardy, a shoemaker, was now tried at the Old-Bailey by a special commission, when a grand jury had found bills of indictment against him and twelve other persons. He was accused of having conspired to form a convention for overturning the government, and of procuring arms for that treasonable purpose. The speech of sir John Scott, the attorney-general, was more remarkable for its length than for the impression which it made upon the jury or the auditors in general. The harangue of Mr. Erskine, in behalf of the prisoner, was acute and forcible. The anxiety of the public was extreme. The interest was not thus excited by mere compassion for the accused, but by a dread of the consequences of establishing the arbitrary doctrine of constructive treason. The trial was unusually long, being protracted to the eighth day; and then the jury, having debated the point for two hours, gave a verdict of acquittal. Mr. John Horne Tooke, a man of acknowledged literary ability, was also tried during five days, and acquitted; and Thelwall was likewise declared innocent, to the great mortification of the abettors of the ministry. The other prisoners, among whom were Holcroft, Kyd, Joyce, Richter, and Bonney, were not tried. All were restored to their families and friends.

This prosecution reflects little credit on the character

of Mr. Pitt. The individuals who were tried, certainly carried their ideas of reform to a greater extent than he did: but he who said that genuine freedom could not exist, while the parliamentary representation continued to be so defective and corrupt, ought to have made some allowance for the extravagant views entertained by other advocates of reform. They might have been checked without being arraigned for high treason. All the danger which even the most sensitive and timid partisans of the ministry, or the most apprehensive Anti-Jacobins, could dread from the intrigues and machinations of such offenders, might have been obviated without any attempt upon their lives. A magnanimous court would have disdained such sanguinary revenge.

These acquittals encouraged Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Lambton, and other friends of liberty, to propose, that the parliament should not persist in suspending the *habeas-corpus* act, as it now appeared that no treasonable plots had been framed; but Mr. Windham maintained the existence of a conspiracy; and the suspension was continued.

The extinction of the reign of terror in France formed a new argument in favor of a negotiation, in the opinion of the adversaries of the ministry; and even one of the premier's friends (Mr. Wilberforce) contended, that an opportunity of treating with effect was now offered; but his motion for that purpose was rejected. He repeated the proposal; and it was again exploded. Other debates arose from the same source; but Mr. Pitt, A. D. Mr. Windham, lord Grenville, and the earl of 1795. Mansfield (nephew of the celebrated judge), maintained that it was disgraceful to treat with such a government as that of France, and that no peace would be secure while the revolutionary spirit subsisted. The minister

did not absolutely say, that the king would only treat with a monarchical government; but he considered that form of polity as the best security for a permanent peace.

The inattention of the Prussian monarch to the stipulations of his treaty with Great-Britain, subjected his character to free animadversion; but Mr. Sheridan failed in his endeavours to procure a vote of censure against him, although it was acknowledged by Mr. Pitt that the conduct of this prince had not answered the expectations of those who trusted to his honor.

The practice of subsidising has been very prevalent in this country since the accession of the house of Brunswick. The successive ministers have found it so easy to obtain money from the people, or rather from their prodigal representatives, that liberal grants have been voted to foreign princes without judgement or discretion. But, before these engagements are completed, it ought to be considered whether some powers are not so far interested in the cause which we support, that they may be expected to act even without pecuniary aid, and whether others are not so rapacious as to be willing to receive the offered subsidy, and unwilling to execute the stipulations of military service. In the former contingency, indeed, a pecuniary allowance may stimulate the exertions of the prince, and may thus be usefully bestowed: but, in the latter case, a knowledge of the character of the sovereign ought to preclude the grant; or, when a great part of an assigned term has passed unemployed, or only a small force has been brought into action, instead of the stipulated number, the breach of engagement annuls the obligation of paying the remainder of the subsidy; for even strict honor does not enforce the compliance of one party where the other

deliberately violates his faith. On this ground, the ministers deserved blame for having suffered the king of Prussia to dupe and plunder the nation.

Sir William Johnstone Pulteney, a weighty speaker, and not a contemptible writer, surprised the house by expressing his conviction that the king of Prussia had much more effectually served the common cause, by the manner in which he had acted, than if he had scrupulously adhered to the articles of the treaty. For this apparent absurdity of remark, which he did not attempt to support by ratiocination, or by statement of fact, he was ridiculed by Mr. Fox, who observed, that the house ought, in this case, to vote solemn thanks to the subsidiary potentate for his extraordinary zeal; and Mr. Sheridan said, that the baronet was not *singular* in this opinion, because there was no doubt of the concurrence of that monarch in the same sentiment. Mr. Jekyll affirmed, that the violation of treaty was notorious, unless it should be alleged that the Polanders were included in the designation of the *common enemy*, and that the propagation of French principles and revolutionary doctrines might be efficaciously checked by territorial seizures on the banks of the Vistula.

In the adjustment of the amount of supply, the first lord of the treasury considered the demand of 29,300,000 pounds as not too exorbitant for the different branches of expenditure. To the sea and land service, above twenty millions of that sum were assigned. A small part of the aggregate supply was devoted to an object which interested the feelings of a loyal nation—the union of the prince of Wales with the princess of Brunswick, the king's niece. For the immediate expence of the marriage, and the reparation and embellishment of the prince's palace, 52,500 pounds were voted, but not without great opposition. His royal

highness had given disgust to sedate and prudent persons by being so regardless of a solemn promise, as to contract debts to the amount of 630,000 pounds: but, as he had obtained credit, it was proper that his tradesmen, and others who had trusted to his honor, should not be defrauded. The commons therefore, when they enabled his majesty to augment his son's income to 125,000 pounds, in addition to the produce of the dukedom of Cornwall, required that 65,000 pounds, and also the revenue of the duchy, should be annually appropriated to the gradual relief of the prince's creditors. In the act of regulation, commissioners were appointed for the management of the revenues, and provision was made for preventing the contraction of new debts. Mr. Grey, in one of the debates on this subject, hinted that a great personage, who had ample means of alleviating the pressure of the prince's debts, might have been expected to make a liberal offer for that purpose: but it could not be supposed that such an *ungracious* hint would meet with attention.

An inquiry into the state of the nation was proposed in one house by Mr. Fox, and in the other by the earl of Guilford. Both complained of the enormous expence of the war, the general mismanagement of affairs, the decline of trade and of national prosperity. The leader of opposition was animated and sarcastic; the speech of his friend was perspicuous, and sometimes forcible. One was supported by the eloquence and wit of Sheridan; the other by the warmth of the earl of Lauderdale, the sound sense and political knowledge of the marquis of Lansdown. It may easily be conceived, that the ministry refused to agree to any inquiry.

The peers, in this session, concluded the trial of Hastings. After various debates, in which the lord-chancellor Loughborough ably supported the charges,

and lord Thurlow zealously labored to invalidate them, sixteen questions were put to each peer, with regard to the guilt or innocence of the governor-general. Twenty three voices pronounced him not guilty, and six guilty, with respect to the first and second heads of accusation ; and not more than five declared against him on any other charge. It was therefore (on the 23d of April) intimated to him by the chancellor, that he was, " by a great majority, acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought against him by the commons." Such an issue of the trial was foreseen by the public.

The guilt of Mr. Hastings was indisputably exaggerated by the unrestrained ardor and lively imagination of Burke, whose judgement did not accurately weigh the evidence, or examine the real state of every part of the case. But, as it appears that, in some points, the rapacity and tyranny of the delinquent were fully proved, we may express our surprise at his being deemed or declared completely innocent by so many of his noble judges. Beside lord Thurlow, the earl of Moira and nineteen other peers acquitted him of every charge ; thinking, perhaps, that his services would have atoned for much greater criminality than could justly be imputed to him. No considerations of that kind, however, ought to have so far influenced his judges as to preclude him from punishment. He himself disclaimed all desire of profiting by such a balance.

While the parliamentary resolutions and enactments demonstrated the warlike zeal of the majority, the minister improved, into regular treaties, the conventions of alliance which had been negotiated with the emperor and the czarina. From the latter, however, no assistance against the French could be obtained. She contented herself with excluding democrats from her territories, and issuing Anti-Gallican proclamations.

Disgusted with a war in which he had little hope of success, the Prussian monarch, in the spring, concluded peace with the French republic, to the great joy of the convention. His catholic majesty, whose troops had been very frequently defeated in the preceding year, also agreed to a treaty; and, for the restitution of conquered towns in Biscay and Catalonia, he consented to give up his part of the island of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola.

The French were not remarkably active in the campaign of this year. They reduced Luxemburg by blockade, took Dusseldorff and Manheim, and routed a division of Wurmser's army, but suffered a defeat in their turn. Jordan was obliged to relinquish the siege of Mentz; and, though he and Picbegru checked the enemy, they could not preserve Manheim. In Italy, the chief occurrence was a conflict in the valley of Loano. The Austrians defended their entrenchments for eleven hours; and they were not entirely dislodged before the next day. The French now took possession of Final and other towns, and not only seized the Austrian magazines, but plundered the Genoese, whom they professed an intention of protecting.

CHAPTER XVII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1795—1796.

OF those Whigs who joined the ministry at the beginning of the war, Mr. Windham was the most ardent zealot. When the revolutionists began to disgrace their cause by violence and cruelty, and to testify a desire

of *inoculating* other nations with the *virus* of licentiousness and democracy, that they might escape the contagion of monarchical despotism, he was so strongly alarmed at the danger which seemed to threaten the civilised world, as to deem no precautionary vigilance too strict for the emergency. He wished for an extension of the rigor of the English code, in cases of sedition and of treason, that all attempts on pretence of reform might be crushed by the terrors of exemplary punishment. Acquainted with his abilities, Mr. Pitt had advised the king to appoint him secretary at war; and, in that capacity, he recommended an expedition to the western coast of France, with a view of assisting the royalists.

After disastrous defeats, furious ravages, and the sacrifice of myriads to republican vengeance, la Vendée enjoyed an interval of tranquillity; and Charette consented to a negotiation by which the inhabitants obtained a freedom of religious worship, and an exemption from requisitions. Stofflet and his followers were less willing to submit: but he at length signed a treaty, in which the Chouans, or mal-contents of Bretagne, were included.

Neither party adhered strictly to the pacification; and each accused the other of a violation of the terms. The convention imputed to the Vendéans and Chouans a treacherous correspondence with the English; and Charette affirmed, that the rulers of the republic had treated some of the western chiefs with perfidy and cruelty, had renewed the civil war, and, in defiance of a solemn promise made by general Canclaux and the deputy Ruelle, had poisoned Louis the Seventeenth, the unfortunate son of a benevolent and patriotic monarch.

The royalists having implored military aid, preparations were made for an expedition to Bretagne. Near

Port l'Orient, on that coast, lord Bridport had met twelve sail of the line, and endeavoured to bring them to a close conflict; and he so far succeeded in the attack, as to capture three of the number. This fleet had previously been seen by vice admiral Cornwallis; on whose very small squadron only a distant and teizing fire was kept up for many hours, the enemy not daring to approach him.

About three thousand men (French emigrants and prisoners) were sent from England in the summer, with large supplies of arms and clothing for the use of the insurgents. They disembarked on the peninsula of Quiberon; and, having dispersed a body of republicans, were joined by many of the royalists. Hoche retired before them until he was reinforced: he then dislodged them from an entrenched camp at Carnac; and they sought refuge under the guns of fort Penthievre, which they had taken soon after their landing.

Discord arose among the associated opposers of the authority of the convention; and the leaders were embarrassed and confounded. Some works on the heights of St. Barbe were partially forced; but the assailants were at length repelled with great slaughter. Guided by some deserters, a detachment from the army of Hoche reached the fort, in a tempestuous night, by an almost impassable route; and, though harassed by the English gun-boats, took it by storm. An entrenched camp remained to be forced. It was bravely defended by the count de Sombreuil; but so many of the pretended well-wishers to the cause of royalty had deserted, that the camp was soon penetrated by the enemy. The count now retired to a rock, where he and his followers gave signs of submission. The English ships carried off about two thousand five hundred; but, of those who were taken, a considerable number were put to

death. The two Vendéan chiefs endeavoured to rouse their countrymen to new efforts against the republic; but they could only keep up a small army; and, being at length made prisoners, they were shot, one at Nantes, the other at Angers.

The Corsicans did not quietly submit to that government which was organised by the enemies of France. They opposed the demand even of lawful taxes, and were inclined to raise the standard of rebellion. The convention sent troops to attempt the reduction of the island; but, the armament being encountered by vice-admiral Hotham, he took two of the vessels. It must be added, however, that he lost one of his ships before this engagement, and one soon after it. The English, in the following year, abandoned Corsica.

The close connexion of the Dutch with the French republic having involved the former in a war with Great-Britain, a small fleet and army were sent to reduce the Cape of Good Hope. A descent was made with little difficulty, and some posts were seized: but a surrender of this important settlement was not enforced before another body of soldiers arrived in the bay.

Some of the Dutch settlements in Asia were also attacked. From Madras troops were sent to Ceylon; and Trincomalè, Colombo, and other towns, were soon subjected to British sway. Batavia, in the island of Java, was not attacked; but the isles of Amboyna and Banda, valuable for spices, were reduced; as was also the town of Cochin, in the peninsula of Hither India. All the French settlements in India had been taken with great facility in the year 1793.

Our oriental trade was at that time in a flourishing state: but an attempt to procure the removal of those

restrictions by which the British intercourse with the Chinese empire was fettered, proved wholly unsuccessful. Earl Macartney was employed in this negotiation; and, though he was sent by the king in a style of great pomp, he was treated with disrespect, if not with contempt.

While the French were trying the effect of a new government, in which the executive power was consigned to a directorial association of five persons, the English court and ministry were alarmed at the licentious freedom of those societies whose intrigues had been checked, but whose spirit had not been completely humbled. The Corresponding Society had proclaimed a meeting in the fields to the northward of the metropolis; and, after vehement harangues, a petition for peace was voted by acclamation. When the king was on his way through St. James's park to the house of peers, the cry of peace was vociferated in his ears; and stones were thrown at the coach in which he rode. This outrageous behaviour furnished a reason or pretence for two acts of an arbitrary complexion, not altogether consistent with the acknowledged rights of the people, and not very honourable to the ministers by whom they were framed, because they were not required by that necessity which alone could justify them.

Lord Grenville conceived it to be his duty, not only as a minister, but as a member of the legislature, to propose a new barrier against the licentiousness of sedition and treason—not new in *principle*, but merely additional in point of *circumstance*. The act of Edward the Third was so indefinitely worded in some parts, as to afford to criminals opportunities of escape; and there were various acts of sedition, which, though allowed to be dangerous, had not a precise punishment

annexed to them. The new bill tended to supply these deficiencies, without violating (in the opinion of its framer) the spirit of the constitution.

The dukes of Norfolk and Bedford were as willing as any of the peers to defend the king and the constitution; but they could not submit without indignation to an unnecessary extension of the penal laws, or to an increase of the power of judges or of ministers. Lord Thurlow objected to transportation, even for the second offence, as too severe a punishment for many points of supposed criminality which the bill included; and he maintained, that such rigor could never conduce to the safety of any government. Lord Grenville condescended to omit malicious or deliberate speaking among the offences which the act would deem treasonable; but the writing or printing of any inflammatory paper ought, he said, to be punished with the utmost severity; and even seditious speaking ought to subject the offender to a trial for a misdemeanor.

So convinced were the majority of the peers of the expediency of the bill, that, although many petitions were presented against it, and few for it, 66 voted in its favor, and only 7 for its rejection. When it had been presented to the commons, Mr. Sheridan proposed that the discussion of it should be preceded by the appointment of a committee, to inquire into the particulars of the insults offered to the sovereign, and the extent and danger of the meetings supposed to be seditious: but it was observed, in reply, that the notoriety of the circumstances rendered an investigation unnecessary. Some of the ministerial speakers imputed the outrages to the members of the Corresponding Society; —a charge which was repelled by a solemn denial. Mr. Erskine contended, that the statute of the third Edward embraced every object which a just govern-

ment would deem conducive to its safety; and that the present measure was an arbitrary extension of that act, in declaring the *compassing* to levy war against the king to be high treason, and in furnishing pretences for confounding trivial guilt with that enormous crime. Mr. Fox censured the bill in strong terms, and urged the house to assert the just claims of freedom by repelling this unjustifiable and violent attack upon the rights of the people and the laws of humanity. Sir William Young was so pleased with the measure, that he moved for its permanency; but the house merely voted, that the act should continue in force during the life of the king, and until the close of the first session of parliament after his death.

The other bill was directed against such meetings as might lead to the perpetration of the crimes punishable by the new act or by former laws of a similar complexion. Mr. Pitt declaimed against the mischievous views of the societies which had been formed since the French revolution had diffused its venom; affirmed, that their leaders aimed at the extinction of monarchy, and the overthrow of the constitution both in church and state; and stated the necessity of guarding against such danger by seasonable restrictions of public meetings. Mr. Fox maintained, that constitutional liberty could not subsist without a freedom of discussion; and that, if the ministry should persist in these arbitrary proceedings, the bill of rights would be annihilated. If the commons should be inclined to acquiesce in such proposals, they might as well desist from the farce of meeting, and resign their freedom in form, as the senators of Denmark once did: but, said the orator, "if you will consent to accept despotism as a favor, do not mock the understandings and the feelings of mankind, by telling the world that you are free. Can a meeting, under such restrictions as

are now proposed, be called an assemblage of freemen? Or can you seduce the people into a belief that the present plan is any thing in effect but an annihilation of their liberty?—Behold the state of a freeborn Englishman! Before he is allowed to discuss any topic which involves his liberty or his rights, he must send to a magistrate, who is to attend the discussion. That magistrate, indeed, cannot prevent the meeting, but he can prevent the continuance of speaking, because he can allege that what is said has a tendency to disturb the peace of the realm.”—Revolutions, he added, did not arise from the freedom of popular opinions or the facility of popular meetings, but from the tyranny exercised by the ruling powers over the minds and feelings of men; and a revolution in this country would be more effectually avoided by a due regard, on the part of the government, to liberal and constitutional maxims, than by restraining the course of speech, or precluding the delivery of opinions on the subject of public affairs.

Sir William Pulteney supported the bill, because he did not think that seditious meetings could be sufficiently checked without it. He was no enemy to the freedom of discussion; but that, he said, might be conducted by the press; a medium which he considered as fully adequate to the support of public spirit and popular interests. The liberty of the press, he observed, was not restrained by this bill; but he must have known, when he made the remark, that lord Grenville had included a restriction of that freedom in the bill which was then passing through the house of peers.

Mr. Halhed, the orientalist, did not object to that proclamation by which a reward was offered for the discovery and apprehension of those who had insulted the king; but he and Mr. Gaez strongly disapproved

that which represented the attack upon his majesty as a consequence of the meeting in the fields, because there did not appear to him to be the least connexion between the one and the other. The persons who composed the assembly had behaved in a peaceable manner, and deserved not the foul imputation thus publicly alleged as the ground of an arbitrary bill.—The secretary at war spoke, with his usual intemperance, of the necessity of preventing all imitation of Gallic licentiousness, and repressing, by seasonable severity, all reformative attempts.

This bill, like the former, was assailed by many popular petitions, and supported by few. It was very warmly opposed, on the second reading, by Mr. Erskine. He contended, in opposition to the solicitor-general Mitford, that it would destroy the right of the people to petition, as no subject was to be discussed which magistrates did not approve; and, as these influenced men would only agree to what would please the court, there would be no opportunity of petitioning against any act of prerogative, abuse, or grievance. Such an invasion of the bill of rights, he said, would justify resistance. An act which would annul an essential part of the constitution ought not to be obeyed. There was nothing that could justify such a despotic bill. All seditious meetings might be prevented by the existing laws, and all breaches of the peace properly punished.

An opulent land-holder in the north of England (Mr. Curwen) distinguished himself in these debates by some spirited harangues, worthy of a patriotic Briton. Freedom of speech, he said, was essential to all real liberty; and none but those who were conscious of guilt would attempt to impose silence on the people. The public voice sounded harshly in the ears of bad ministers, whose resentment, therefore, prompted them to abridge the

liberties of the nation. But he trusted, that his countrymen would not tamely submit to such insults and oppressions. It was only in meetings that the real sentiments of the people could be manifested; and, if this right should be annihilated, all opposition to ministerial tyranny, either in or out of parliament, would be crushed; and the democratic branch of the constitution would be overborne by the crown and the aristocracy. —He also condemned the other bill with indignant warmth, and moved for a postponement of both, that their extraordinary provisions might be deliberately weighed and examined: but, while 70 members supported by their suffrages the proposal of delay, 269 voted against it.

A debate arose on that clause which fixed the punishment for twelve or more persons who should remain embodied, with or without tumult, one hour after a magistrate should have required their dispersion. The solicitor-general and sir Peter Burrell recommended death. Mr. Wilberforce and sir William Dolben proposed, that such disobedience should only be punished as a misdemeanor: but the committee, in the proportion of above six to one, voted for sanguinary rigor.

Persons were allowed by the bill to meet, even for the discussion of political topics; but, if above fifty should assemble, previous notice in a news-paper was required, that one or more justices of the peace might attend; and, if a proposal should be made at such meeting "for altering any thing by law established, except by authority of the king, lords, and commons," or any business of an improper or seditious tendency should be brought forward, the magistrate was empowered to apprehend the mover and the abettors, and dissolve the assembly. These clauses were opposed

without effect; and the duration of the bill was fixed for three years.

In the upper house, few members spoke against it: but the objections of those few were strong, and were evaded, not answered. Both bills (on the 18th of December) received the king's sanction, to the great disgust of the people.

Exulting in this success, the minister continued with alacrity his warlike preparations; at the same time advising his majesty to declare, to the two houses, his readiness to enter into a negotiation with the newly-formed directory. The members of opposition treated this offer as insincere and delusive; and Mr. Grey made an experiment upon the real inclinations of the ministry, by proposing an address in recommendation of a pacific overture from the king to the French government. The premier alleged, that it would be disrespectful for the house to interfere on this occasion; and the motion was rejected. An attempt was made to produce a negotiation; but the application was disregarded by the enemy, as it was supposed that a resignation of the Netherlands would be peremptorily required by the British cabinet.

The mismanagement of the war, the cruelty of using blood-hounds against insurgents in Jamaica, financial misapplication, prodigality of expenditure, and other grounds of animadversion, were brought forward by different speakers, without drawing votes of censure from the majority of either house. The supplies of the year exceeded 37,588,000 pounds. The taxes requisite for the interest of two loans seemed to fall with more sensible weight, while the people felt the ill effects of a scarcity of corn; a grievance which the formation of an agricultural society in the year 1793 had not

precluded. The completion of the business of the session was followed by the dissolution of a parliament which had evinced a greater zeal for the interest of the crown than for that of the people.

The emperor had so far profited by the loans derived from British opulence, as to keep up a numerous army on a respectable footing; but he could not provide so great a force as that which the French directory could call into action. The courage and skill of the archduke Charles, however, prevented the enemy from obtaining signal victories. He disorganised the army of Jourdan, and so effectually harassed Moreau, that the endangered commander was obliged to commence a retreat. Latour, who closely pursued him, was defeated; and the French repelled the Austrians in other conflicts: but Moreau did not expect to triumph:—he could only hope to escape. He forced his way through the defiles of the *Valley of Hell*, and, after a severe engagement near the Eltz, secured himself in Alsace. The ability with which he conducted his retreat was not only extolled by his countrymen, but was admired by the warriors of every nation in Europe.

A spirited campaign in Italy evinced the ambitious ardor of the French. They hoped, not merely to diminish, by a powerful diversion in that country, the success of the Austrian arms in other quarters, but to secure permanent conquests or useful dependencies. Bonapartè assumed, with characteristic alacrity, the command of the army destined for Trans-Alpine service, and soon met with great success over that inadequate force which the king of Sardinia, with the aid of a British subsidy, had brought into action. To avoid ruin, the humbled prince sued for peace, which was granted to him on his cession of the territories of Savoy and Nice, and the surrender of some fortresses in Piedmont,

to be garrisoned by the French until a general pacification should take place. This treaty, not being concerted with the assent of the British or Austrian courts, was rather an act of necessity, than of strict honor, on the part of the harassed prince.

The next object of Bonapartè was the invasion of the duchy of Milan. He crossed the Po in the face of the enemy, and attacked Beaulieu on the banks of the Adda. That commander had erected formidable batteries to defend the bridge of Lodi; but the French grenadiers boldly advanced to the charge. Thrice they were repelled by an incessant fire. By renewed exertions a passage was effected, and the enemy routed. The Milanese now submitted to the French; and, after other conflicts, the strong city of Mantua was reduced.

The French were not wholly inactive in the western hemisphere. They had, in 1795, stimulated the inhabitants of Dominica to revolt from the English government, and encouraged them by military aid. They had roused into rebellion the Caribs of St. Vincent and the negroes of Grenada; and, by intrigues and by arms, had recovered St. Lucia. For the re-capture of the last of these islands, it became necessary to send, in 1796, a respectable force, which prevailed over the opposition of the insurgents and the French. In the other islands, also, the exertions of the loyal restored subordination and tranquillity.

The directory having desired the Dutch to equip an armament for the expulsion of the English from the Cape of Good Hope, Engelbert Lucas sailed from the Texel with three ships of the line and four frigates; but he was not joined, as he expected, by a French squadron. Vice-admiral Elphinstone, who had seven sail of the line under his command, beside other ships of war, approached the enemy in the bay of Saldanha, and

summoned the commodore to yield his whole fleet. Sensible of the inutility of a contest, Lucas complied with the requisition.

As a wish for peace now prevailed both among the French and British nations, although the ruling power in each country did not seriously or earnestly desire it, a negotiation was opened in the autumn. The king of Great-Britain, from whom the proposal originated, sent lord Malmesbury to the French metropolis to adjust the terms of reconciliation.

The elation of the republicans, at their success in Italy, obstructed the views of the advocates of peace. The English ambassador proposed a mutual restitution of conquests : but the French pertinaciously insisted on a retention of the Netherlands ; and, after fruitless conferences with M. De-la-Croix, the minister for foreign affairs, his lordship was arrogantly dismissed from Paris.

The directory, during the negotiation, equipped an armament for the invasion of Ireland, where the enemies of the government, it was said, were very numerous. Thirty ships of war, beside sloops and transports, sailed from Brest in the unseasonable month of December, with nineteen thousand men. Villaret-Joyeuse was the admiral employed ; and Hoche, who had been particularly eager for a bold scheme of this kind, was the military commander. As many ships as were not dispersed by the winds, appeared in the bay of Bantry ; but, as the other vessels did not rejoin them, vice-admiral Bouvet sailed back to France, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the officers of the army, who wished to make a descent without waiting for Hoche. One ship of the line and two frigates were sunk by the fury of the storm.

If the enemy had effected a landing, some ravages

might have been committed, and great mischief inflicted, by such a number of fierce invaders; but the efforts of the loyal troops and yeomanry, in all probability, would have secured the island from subjugation. The French affirmed, that Ireland was saved only by the winds; for, if the weather had been favorable, nothing (said those boasters) could have prevented the complete success of the resolute Hoche, his experienced officers, his brave and well-disciplined battalions.

Soon after the meeting of the new parliament (in October), the alarm of an invasion had induced the minister to propose, not only that the number of seamen should be augmented to 120,000, but that a new body of militia should be levied, to the amount of 60,000, and that 20,000 men should be enlisted as cavalry, in aid of the regular establishment. Mr. Fox and other members disputed the necessity of such extraordinary levies; but the bills for the two last purposes were quickly enacted, beside one which ordained that every parish in the kingdom should supply one or more men, so as to make up 15,000, for completing the number assigned for the naval service, and recruiting the regiments of the line. The supplies now voted were augmented, in the sequel, to 42,786,000 pounds.

1797. To the emperor large sums had been lately sent by the minister, whose unauthorised profusion, in this respect, was declared, by Mr. Grey and Mr. Curwen, to be highly criminal. The house vindicated the *expediency* of these advances, however repugnant to the established practice in ordinary cases; and permitted a new loan to the Austrian prince, to the extent of 3,500,000 pounds.

The ill success of the negotiation, being adduced as a ground for more determined vigor of hostility, could not fail to excite debate. It was affirmed, that no peace

could be expected while Mr. Pitt continued in office ; that he could neither conduct the war with efficiency, nor procure honorable terms of accommodation. Such an address, however, as he proposed in answer to a royal message and a public declaration, on the subject of the late conduct of the enemy, was adopted by a majority of 175. An independent member (Mr. Pollen) recommended a renewal of overtures for peace ; and other motions were made for that purpose, as well as for a change of the ministry ; for which objects, also, many addresses were presented to the sovereign. A new attempt for a reform of parliament was made by Mr. Grey ; but it was counteracted by a great superiority of number.

The embarrassments of the bank increased that discontent which the continuance of the war had produced. The directors had strongly remonstrated against the frequent demands of the treasury for cash ; and the requisitions of individuals who dreaded an invasion, and of private bankers, for specie in exchange for notes, had so diminished the apparent quantity of coin, that, when Mr. Pitt applied for a farther supply, which, he said, was requisite for the service of Ireland, the bank committee opposed it, from an apprehension of disastrous consequences to the society and the public. The privy council now prohibited the directors from paying any demand in cash ; and both houses voted for an inquiry into the affairs of a corporation whose supposed impoverishment had propagated a general panic. The investigation tended to allay the fears of the public ; for it soon appeared that the dread of bankruptcy was visionary.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1797.

A NATION, inhabiting an island, must anxiously wish to repose full confidence in the courage and fidelity of its seamen. Its liberality, therefore, ought to be proportioned to the fatigues and dangers of the service; and great encouragement ought to be given to the maritime defenders of the state. We do not think that Great-Britain has been deficient in this respect. Yet many of the seamen, at the time of which we are treating, felt emotions of discontent, and began to call for an advance of pay and other gratifications. Some men of turbulent dispositions, tinctured with Jacobinical principles, either originally infused, or subsequently promoted, this clamorous spirit, which filled the nation with alarm.

Anonymous letters, desiring a redress of grievances, were sent to earl Howe by the seamen of the squadron employed in the channel. They were not answered; and therefore, on the return of the fleet from a cruise, a correspondence was established among the mal-contents of different ships for the purpose of enforcing a compliance with their demands. Lord Bridport, not aware of the general dissatisfaction, prepared to sail from Spithead; but his signals and commands were neglected. In none of the ships would the crew weigh anchor. Instead of obeying the orders of the officers, the men readily submitted to the authority of delegates of their own appointment. This extraordinary assumption of

power was not attended with tumult or disorder. The mutineers displayed a firmness of deportment, without the exercise of brutal licentiousness.

The first lord of the admiralty, at this crisis, was earl Spencer, who had been influenced by a dread of democracy to enlist in the ministerial ranks. Finding, on a visit to the fleet, that the seamen could not be reclaimed without some concessions, he promised that they should be gratified (as far as his persuasions and endeavours could extend) with an increase of pay and a copious allowance of good provisions. But, as they were doubtful of the compliance of the parliament with their wishes, they did not return to their duty before lord Howe arrived with a copy of a bill enacted on the spur of the occasion, granting the favors promised by lord Spencer. While they were waiting for the desired redress, an attempt of some of the delegates to board the London man of war exposed them to the fire of the marines; and some lives were sacrificed before the crew overpowered the officers.

A more alarming mutiny arose in the ships at the Nore. In a convention of delegates, it was agreed (on the 20th of May) that, in addition to the recent grants, the sailors should demand a more equal distribution of prize-money, a regular payment of arrears at the commencement of every fresh voyage, and a mitigation of the severity of some of the articles of war. As the lords of the admiralty opposed these requisitions, the mutineers declared that they would keep possession of the ships, the captains of which had already been suspended from their commands; and preparations were made for defensive hostility.

Encouraged by the accession of four large ships and a sloop from the coast of Norfolk, the insurgents continued to defy the royal authority; detained many mer-

cantile vessels, and plundered one of them; and endeavoured to block up the mouth of the Thames. They seemed inclined to attack the fort of Sheerness; but, if they really intended to commit such an act of rebellion, the vigilance of the garrison deterred them from the execution of their purpose. This fort, and those of Gravesend and Tilbury, were provided with furnaces for heating balls, in case of an attack; and other precautions were not neglected by the government.

The earl of Northesk, being a favorite among the seamen, was desired to attend a convention in the Sandwich, or the flag-ship. The requisitions of the malcontents were communicated to him by Parker, who superintended their deliberations, and directed their proceedings. He sent the earl with a letter to the king, who, having submitted the affair to the consideration of the privy council, resolved, instead of condescending to treat with mutineers, to insist on unconditional submission.

The menacing demeanor of the court, and the enactment of two bills of a formidable import (denouncing death against all who should "actually endeavour to induce" persons serving in the army or navy "to commit any traitorous or mutinous act," and all who should hold "wilful and advised communication" with the crew of any ship pronounced by the admiralty to be in a state of mutiny), superseded the necessity of an attack which was meditated upon the rebellious fleet. Parker, indeed, and some of his chief associates, refused to submit; but the majority were disposed to implore the clemency of their sovereign. Three ships sailed off, and effected their escape, exposed to a brisk fire from the vessels occupied by the refractory. Two others followed the example: and a defection of five more from the confederacy soon took place; but, in some of the ships,

several men were killed or wounded in conflicts between those who wished to submit and such as were still mutinous. The flag of sedition at length ceased to be hoisted; and (on the 14th of June) the Sandwich being conducted by the crew under the guns of Sheerness fort, a party of soldiers went on board, and seised the leader of the insurrection. Wallace, one of the delegated mutineers, shot himself to avoid the ignominy of a trial and public execution.

Parker was tried by a court-martial; and his guilt was fully proved. He declared, however, in his defence, that he did not instigate the seamen to sedition, but endeavoured to repress the rising discontent; that he was overborne by the force of the combination, and constrained to act as president of the illegal council; and that, if he had not taken an active part on the occasion, the mutiny would have been more serious and dreadful than it proved to be. He was hanged in the Sandwich, bearing his fate with coolness and fortitude. Seven of his accomplices, belonging to the Leopard, were also punished with death; and some individuals of other ships likewise fell victims to the violated laws of their country.

If a foreign fleet had presumed to interfere in this contest, the contumacy of the sailors would, in all probability, have instantly subsided, and the arrogance of the enemy would have been chastised. Before the commencement of the mutiny the naval glory of Great-Britain had been augmented by an engagement near Cape St. Vincent. The king of Spain had been drawn into an alliance with the French republic, and had promised to encounter the English on their favorite element. He sent out twenty-seven ships of the line, one of which had 130 guns, and six had 112. A fleet of fifteen sail of the line, with some frigates, met the

enemy. A Byng would have instantly fled with all possible celerity ; but Jervis felt no terror. Expecting to be well supported by brave and able officers, he (on the 14th of February) attacked the Spaniards with a quickness which precluded the regular formation of their line. His intention was to pass through their fleet, and, by tacking about, separate nine ships from the rest. He effected his purpose with great address ; and, when don Josef de Cordova was endeavouring to form a re- junction, by wearing round the rear of the British line, the skill of Nelson obstructed the views of that commander. This officer having involved himself in a conflict with the largest ship of the enemy, and two others, found himself in great danger ; but he was seasonably assisted. The Spanish admiral, despairing of the desired junction, made the signal for the rest of his fleet to form as closely as the time would allow : yet he could not prevent a defeat. The San Nicolas and San Josef were boarded by Nelson with cool intrepidity ; and two other ships were captured. The pursuit of the retiring foe was checked in the evening by the approach of the separated vessels ; but the enemy had not the spirit to renew the action. About fifteen hundred men were killed or wounded on the side of the Spaniards, and three hundred in the victorious fleet.

The French had entertained the hope of forming a junction of their fleet with those of Spain and Holland, that the British navy might be overpowered, and our island invaded : but they were too sanguine in their calculations of success. A descent in Pembrokeshire, at this time, is scarcely worthy of notice. The invaders, about thirteen hundred in number, seem to have been the refuse of prisons or the lowest of the rabble. They quietly submitted to captivity.

In the same month, the Spaniards suffered a more important loss than that of a few ships. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with a small army, invaded Trinidad, near the coast of South-America, and easily prevailed over all opposition. The capital being reduced, the whole island was subjected, by capitulation, to British sway. In the gulph of Paria, a ship of the line was taken; and three, with a frigate, were burned by their occupants, that they might not be added to the English navy.

To improve this success, the general sailed to Porto-Rico; and, when the smaller vessels of admiral Hervey's squadron had entered a bay near the chief town of the island, the troops posted themselves in what appeared to be a convenient situation: but their left flank was harassed by numerous gun-boats; and the Spaniards so powerfully defended the approaches to the town (which stands on a spot separated from the main island by a narrow channel), that the invaders could not penetrate into it; and the enterprise was therefore relinquished.

An attempt for the reduction of an African island, belonging to Spain, was also unsuccessful. Nelson, who had been elevated to the rank of rear-admiral, sailed with a small squadron to the Canary isles. When he had reached Teneriffe, he ordered captain Troubridge to lead one thousand seamen and marines to an attack of Santa Cruz. They landed in a very dark night, and forced their way into the town; but they were unable to reduce the chief fortress. Gutierrez, the governor, hoped to compel the whole number to surrender; but the captain sent a message to him, intimating that the squadron would not attack the town, if he and all his men should be suffered to return unmolested to their boats. The Spaniard at first hesitated; but he was induced to agree

to the proposal, when Troubridge threatened to fire the town, and rush upon the foe with bayonets fixed. About two hundred and fifty of the invaders were drowned, shot, or wounded; and Nelson, though he did not head the party, was so far from being out of the reach of danger, that a cannon-ball deprived him of his right arm.

In recurring to the affairs of the continent, we find that the pope, who, in the preceding year, had been wantonly robbed by the French of territory, of money, and valuable works of art, was now obliged to purchase a precarious peace by farther grants, after his troops had in vain defended Faenza and other towns. The Tuscans and Venetians were also subjected to arbitrary exactions: and Charles Emanuel, the new king of Sardinia, was constrained to become an ally of that power which had insulted and disgraced him.

Intent on the humiliation of the house of Austria, the directory ordered Bonapartè to attack the archduke with the utmost vigor. He therefore advanced with confidence, reduced the country situated between the Lavis and the Piavè, achieved the conquest of Friuli, over-ran Carinthia, and diffused through the emperor's hereditary dominions that terror which induced the court to agree to a negotiation, proposed by the victorious general.

The imperialists, at the same time, were harassed on the Upper Rhine by Moreau, being defeated at Diersheim after an obstinate conflict; and Hoche prospered on the Lower Rhine, until his career was stopped by the result of the conferences. Preliminary articles were signed at Leoben, between France and Austria, and plenipotentiaries were named for the adjustment of a definitive treaty.

The secession of the emperor from the confederacy

led to a renewal of negotiation between Great-Britain and France. That prince did not strictly adhere to his engagements, when he treated separately with the republic: but, as a congress had been proposed, there was some prospect of a pacificatory concert. Lord Grenville (on the 1st of June) recommended to M. de la-Croix an immediate discussion of mutual pretensions, that articles might be signed, which might, with or without alterations, be confirmed at the congress. The French minister intimated the wish of the directory to receive the pacific overtures of the court of London, without waiting for the tardy deliberations of a congress; and a passport was sent for a British plenipotentiary to repair to Lisle. Le-Tourneur, Le-Pelley, and Maret, were authorised to treat with lord Malmesbury, who presented, as a plan of peace, twenty articles, importing, among other stipulations, that, with a view of placing the rights of fishery (on the coasts of Newfoundland and the adjacent islands) upon the former basis, the isles of Miquelon and St. Pierre, reduced in the first year of the war, should be restored to the French; that the state of possession before the war should in general take place; that, in cases of restitution, the improvements of fortifications by the captors should be left uninjured, for the benefit of the former possessors; that Trinidad should be ceded to Great-Britain, unless compensation should be made for it by some other cession which should balance the addition of colonial power to France, arising from the acquisition of the Spanish part of St. Domingo; that the Dutch should cede the Cape of Good Hope, and all their settlements in Ceylon, and accept Negapatam for Cochin; that the prince of Orange should be indemnified, and the queen of Portugal gratified with an honorable peace.

These proposals were so displeasing to the directory, that a peremptory order was sent from Paris, in consequence of which the republican negotiators required, as the first step to a treaty, the king's consent to the surrender of all his conquests. Lord Malmesbury remonstrated against this unreasonable requisition, and his majesty refused to submit to it. Another demand was for a grant of the value of the ships destroyed at Toulon, and the restitution of those which had been seized in that port: this also was rejected. Occasional conferences were still maintained, but with little prospect of a definitive agreement.

In the mean time, an important change occurred at Paris. Of the two councils which formed the legislative body of the republic, a third part had been replaced by members newly elected, who were chiefly of the moderate party, not bigoted royalists, rigid republicans, or Jacobins. The leaders of the assemblies, disgusted at the arbitrary conduct of Barras, La-Raveillere Lepaux, and Reubel, the most active and powerful of the five directors, were highly pleased at the result of the election, and prepared with redoubled alacrity to check the views of the triumvirate. But, as they did not exercise that vigor and energy which the contest required, they were at length overpowered by the daring violence of their rivals, who had obtained the support of the army. Many of the members were seized as criminals, and transported to Guiana; and Barras and his associates ruled without control.

No hope of pacification could now be entertained. If even the moderate party insisted on such terms as the king could not be expected to grant, it could not be supposed that the triumvirate would testify a greater degree of forbearance. Treilhard and Bonnier were sent to Lisle, on pretence of negotiating; and, as they

would not listen to a compromise, no treaty was then concluded with this nation.

With the Austrian potentate, however, a treaty was signed (on the 17th of October) at Campo-Formio, in the Venetian state. He was obliged to submit to the loss of his Netherland provinces, and of the duchy of Milan; but was gratified with the possession of the city and continental territories of Venice (recently democratised by Bonapartè), and also of Istria and those parts of Dalmatia which were not occupied by the subjects of the grand signor; while Corfu, Cephalonia, and other islands near the coast of Greece, and some districts in Albania, were assigned to the French.

Some secret articles were added; fixing the Rhine for the boundary of the French republic; ordering the evacuation of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, and other fortresses, by the Austrians; providing for the transfer of a part of the Bavarian territories and other districts to the emperor, as an indemnification for the surrender of his possessions on the left bank of that river; and promising various grants in Germany to other princes and states, whose rights might be diminished by the new demarcation.

The head of the empire had made peace for himself, but not for the Germanic body, which his influence had drawn into the war. For the purpose of extending the pacification, a congress was holden at Rastadt, where Bonnier and Treilhard met the deputies of Francis and those of the diet, and required that the Rhine should be acknowledged as the boundary of the republic.

One of the chief princes of the empire had already resigned his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine to the encroaching republicans. This was the king of Prussia, who, when he concluded peace with France, had prudently established the neutrality of the north of

Germany. He now died after a reign of eleven years, with the character of a faithless and unprincipled monarch. His son was even more inclined than the defunct prince to preserve peace with the powerful republic, either from being jealous of the house of Austria, or from dreading a revolution in his own country, though some would make the latter consideration a ground of war.

The disordered state of Ireland having excited among the French a strong desire of invading that country, the directory ordered general Daendels to embark an army for that purpose. Some troops had entered the vessels; but, being watched by English cruisers, they returned on shore. A short discontinuance of the blockade of the Texel induced the Dutch admiral, de Winter, to put to sea with fifteen sail of the line, that he might proceed down the channel to join the Brest fleet. Duncan, hastily sailing back toward the coast of Holland, disposed his squadron, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, in such a manner as to prevent the Dutch from escaping without a conflict. When they were within nine miles of the shore near Camperdown, he commenced an attack to leeward (on the 11th of October); and his ship the Venerable, well supported by others, broke their line.

The contest was particularly obstinate between the flag-ships of the two admirals, and the vice-admirals Onslow and Reyntjes. During the action, both parties continued to approach the shore; and the English ships, which had placed themselves between the enemy and the land, were in danger of being stranded. At length, nine sail of the line and two frigates were captured by our gallant countrymen. The Ardent, beside Burgess, her much-lamented captain, lost a greater number of men than any other vessel in the victorious

fleet. The killed and wounded, on the side of the Dutch, were about fifteen hundred; on the part of the English, there were seven hundred and fifty sufferers, of both descriptions. In the Agincourt, none fell; for Williamson, her commander, did not take proper measures for joining in the engagement, and was therefore declared, by a court-martial, incapable of ever serving in any of his majesty's ships.

For this success, and the defeat of the French and Spaniards by lord Howe and sir John Jervis, public thanks were offered up to the great Giver of all victory, in the different churches of the realm. The royal family, and also the peers and the commons, repaired on this occasion to the cathedral of St. Paul. The admirals Duncan and Jervis were not only elevated to the peerage, but were rewarded by a grateful parliament with considerable pensions.

CHAPTER XIX.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

A. D. 1797—1798.

THE societies suspected of democratic views were visibly discouraged by the act against seditious meetings; and the concomitant statute forcibly checked both the freedom of speech and of action. The members of the London Corresponding Society, however, resolved to hold a public meeting in a field near Pancras, and discuss the propriety of voting a remonstrance to his majesty. Sir William Addington, a vigilant magistrate, attended, and, when one of the orators

had commenced his address to the people, proclaimed and enforced a dissolution of the meeting.

Some disturbances were produced in Scotland by an act respecting the militia. Considering it as an arbitrary scheme to force them into the service, the provincials of East-Lothian repaired to Tranent, where the deputy-lieutenants and magistrates were making arrangements for the execution of the statute. The supporters of government were fiercely assaulted; and the riot was not suppressed without the exertions of the soldiery, by whom some of the perturbators of the peace were shot. From the same source a tumult arose at Eccles; for which some individuals were transported for fourteen years.

The circumstances of the late negotiation were warmly canvassed by both parties in parliament; though some of the chief members of opposition had seceded in disgust from their legislative duty. Earl Fitzwilliam affirmed that no peace with republican France could be secure; that to treat with such a state was to negotiate with banditti: and that the resources of this country were amply sufficient for the animated continuance of the war. Lord Grenville did not protest against a peace with the republic, as such a determination might dangerously prolong the war. The marquis of Lansdown was of opinion that peace might speedily be obtained by a substitution of upright and patriotic ministers for those who had so long misgoverned the realm. Lord Mulgrave said, that those who most anxiously wished to succeed Mr. Pitt and his friends in power, had not entitled themselves by their conduct to public confidence. The duke of Norfolk did not think that the ministers wished for peace: for, if they had taken proper steps, they might have

procured it.—In the other house, lord Temple and Dr. Laurence blamed the court for offering too much as the price of peace, and contended against all negotiation with a perfidious and unprincipled enemy. Sir John Sinclair disapproved the warmth of invective with which the French had usually been assailed, as it could only have the effect of embittering the enmity of that nation. At the same time, he blamed the meanness of the cabinet, in suffering lord Malmesbury to continue the negotiation, while the French plenipotentiaries declined a full and explicit statement of the terms of the directory. Mr. Pitt maintained his own sincerity, and accused the French of harbouring the most inimical intentions in the midst of pacific professions. The arrogance of their avowed demands, and the insinuation that many other points, yet unexplained, must be conceded, appeared to him to deserve great severity of censure.

A bold measure of finance was now recommended to the commons. It provided for the exaction of large supplies, instead of only taxing the people for the interest of a loan. To prevent the national credit from being impaired by a series of heavy loans, and baffle the French hopes of the serious embarrassment of our finances, the minister resolved to borrow only a small sum, and to levy ample contributions by an increase of the assessed taxes. He did not mean to say, that the system of funding was exhausted: he merely wished to husband that resource, and deviate in some degree from the long-established course of financial operations. He, therefore, would not suffer the loan to exceed twelve millions; and he hoped that, on this account, the public would not complain of the demand of seven millions, payable in the ensuing year. Strong

objections, however, were made to the great extent of the requisition, both in and out of parliament.

At the desire of the electors of Westminster, Mr. Fox resumed his public character, and returned to the house to oppose the bill which contained the detail of this exorbitant assessment. He contended, that no man who had a real regard for the interest of the people could vote for such an iniquitous seizure of the property of individuals. Many even of those who were friendly to the war, would, he thought, consider the tax as highly objectionable, because the alleged relief derivable from it to the funds would be very inconsiderable, and, indeed, scarcely worthy of mention, amidst the extraordinary accumulation of debt consequent on the long continuance of hostilities. Why (it might be asked) was not this scheme proposed at the beginning of the war? Because (he would answer) delusion was deemed expedient; and it would not have served the minister's purpose to show the people, so early, into what an abyss he intended to lead them. The mask, however, was now thrown off; and the spirit of French rapacity was exhibited in British taxation.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the speakers of A. D. opposition, the bill was sanctioned by a majority of 125 in one house, and of 67 in the other. It was ordained by the act, that any person who had less than 60 pounds of income should be totally exempt from the new tax; that such as annually received that sum, but less than 65 pounds, should not be obliged to pay, in addition to their present assessment, above a hundred-and-twentieth part of it; that those who had a greater income should be gradually less favored; for instance, one who had 95 pounds *per annum* would not be required to pay above a 50th part; for 155

pounds, a 20th part, &c. Inferior householders, and shop-keepers in general, were indulged with a considerable abatement of the rigors of the requisition; and, although the gentry were subjected to a tax which trebled the amount of their existing assessments, and, in some cases, even to a quintuple addition, it was provided that in no instance should any person be compelled to pay above a tenth part of his revenue.

It is proper to observe, that a considerable part of the loan was to be defrayed out of the additional assessment. The estimate of the new tax was reduced from seven millions to four and a half; and it was expected by Mr. Pitt, that the voluntary donations of the people for the service of the state would produce a million and a half. These contributions had been recommended in parliament; and the advice was readily followed by the nation. The loan, we may add, was extended to fifteen millions, exclusive of two millions for Ireland.

An attempt was made by the duke of Bedford to procure the dismissal of those ministers who had been so long tried, and found wholly incapable of the proper exercise of their functions. He traced their conduct from the beginning of the war; exposed their inconsistencies and absurdities, their misapplication of the public treasure, and their encroachments on constitutional rights; and affirmed that, whatever might be their intentions, they were in effect the enemies of their country, as they wasted its resources in promoting the aggrandisement of France. Lord Boringdon opposed a motion which he considered as pregnant with mischief. Lord Romney panegyrised the ministers, and denied that the war had been unsuccessful. The marquis of Lansdown strongly urged the house to agree to the duke's proposal, as the continuance of Mr. Pitt in office tended to

the ruin of the country : but the lords Mulgrave and Grenville warmly enforced a contrary opinion ; and they numbered 113 votes on their side, while his grace had only 13. A resolution, favourable to the conduct and views of the ministry, was then adopted on the suggestion of lord Romney.

A new scheme of the minister provided for the perpetuation of the land-tax, by involving the redemption of it, on the payment of a quantity of stock more than equivalent, in point of dividend, to the amount of the tax. The chief recommendation of the plan, in his opinion, was, that it would diminish the funded capital, and, by thus allaying the pressure of the burthen of interest, would invigorate public credit. The tax would be redeemed at twenty-years' purchase ; and, while individuals would, in this particular, obtain the advantage of landed security for that of the funds, the public would gain one fifth of the purchase. The redemption was not intended to be compulsory on the person liable to the tax ; for a stranger might purchase it at once, and receive annually from him the present rate of assessment. It might be objected, on constitutional grounds, that to render a grant perpetual which was now annual, would abridge the control of the house of commons over the public expenditure : but he would obviate this objection by placing equivalent funds (now permanent) under annual control. This scheme was strongly opposed ; but the force of number subdued the efficacy of argument. By an alteration of the bill, the proprietor of the land was allowed to redeem the tax by paying only a tenth part, instead of a fifth, beyond the rate of the impost.

The alarm of invasion continuing, a bill of a defensive complexion was proposed by Mr. Dundas, secretary of state (by a new and irregular appointment) for the war

department. It tended to procure an enumeration of all males between fifteen and sixty years of age, and, particularly, of those who were willing to assist in the defence of the realm: it authorised the provincial lieutenants to embody such volunteers, and take other measures for baffling the invasive attempts of the enemy.

Soon after the enactment of this seasonable bill, his majesty intimated to both houses, that, "the preparations for the embarkation of troops and warlike stores were carried on with increasing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed design of invasion;" and that the schemes of the enemy were promoted by the mal-contentments of Great-Britain and Ireland. On this occasion, Mr. Sheridan distinguished himself by an animated harangue, which all parties concurred in applauding. The dangers which threatened the country, he said, were of no ordinary magnitude: it was therefore no common spirit that could enbolden the nation to encounter them. The spirit which he wished to see did not sufficiently prevail through the country: but he trusted that the people would rouse themselves from their supineness, and not treat invasion as a mere topic of idle conversation. They ought to reflect on the insatiate ambition, the rancorous animosity, and the great power of the enemy, whose eventual success in this object would entail the most dreadful calamities on the nation. No one could be so weak as to suppose that Bonapartè would come, like a minister of grace, to restore citizens to their rights, and establish real freedom. On the contrary, the invaders would wreak their vengeance in acts of sanguinary outrage, and gratify their avidity by general rapine. They wanted ships, commerce, and capital, and would supply their wants by arbitrary seizure. To

prevent such mischiefs, determined courage and harmonious co-operation were essentially necessary. Some of the opponents of the ministry might allege, that they could not oppose the French with effect or with confidence while the government was so ill conducted: but, as a removal of obnoxious counsellors could not at present be obtained, the desire of a change ought not to preclude the exertions of patriotic zeal. Peace was extremely desirable; but, if the arrogant and licentious foe should land, it would be humiliating and disgraceful to negotiate: British valor and energy must then be displayed, or ruin would ensue.

The zeal of Mr. Sheridan, however, for promoting the national defence, did not prompt him to agree to a proposal, which followed the royal message, for a new suspension of the *habeas-corpus* act: but it was readily voted by the majority of each house; as was also a bill for superseding protections against the arbitrary practice of impressing for the naval service.

With a view of checking the preparations of the enemy for an invasion, but chiefly for the purpose of obstructing the internal navigation from Flanders to France and Holland, troops and a *flotilla* were sent about this time to the Flemish coast. A descent was made to the eastward of Ostend; and the town was bombarded from the sea. A detachment of light infantry and grenadiers repelled a considerable body of sharp-shooters; and lieutenant Brownrigg made such judicious arrangements, and so skilfully prepared his mines, that the gates and sluices of the canal leading to Bruges, supposed to be very complete works, were destroyed. Many vessels were at the same time burned. The soldiers would now have re-entered the boats, if a strong wind and a very high surf had not rendered embarkation impracticable. Having rested for one night

upon their arms, they were attacked in the morning by a great force. Coote, the commanding officer, was dangerously (and colonel Campbell mortally) wounded; and above eleven hundred men were obliged to become prisoners, as they would otherwise have been put to the sword.

A few days after the ministry had received information of this misfortune, more alarming intelligence arrived from Ireland. A rebellion had arisen, of which the enemy, it was apprehended, would take immediate advantage; and though, from the strength of the army in that kingdom, there was reason to conclude that the insurgents would not be successful, the king gladly availed himself of the services of the British militia for the more speedy and effectual restoration of peace and order.

A society, which bore the name of United Irishmen, was formed at Dublin in 1791, in imitation of one which had been instituted at Belfast, for the ostensible purposes of procuring a reform of the parliamentary representation, and relieving the catholics from remaining disabilities. A bold enterprising man, of the name of Tone, was the projector of this confederacy; and his real aim was to form a democratic government, wholly independent of Great-Britain. Combinations of the same kind were formed in other parts of Ireland; and even the protestant dissenters joined their religious adversaries in these associations. While the leaders were employed in making proselytes, the catholics obtained from the parliament, in 1793, the liberty of voting for members of the house of commons, and an eligibility to various employments; and they were *gratified* in some other points; but, not being *satisfied*, they wished also to sit in parliament, and to be declared admissible even to the highest posts. Earl Fitzwilliam, being appointed

viceroy of Ireland near the close of the year 1794, endeavoured to procure the consent of the British ministry to all their wishes : but he was only allowed to promote the object, not permitted to bring it forward officially. His recall, in consequence of an open disagreement with the Orange party, which professed a firm adherence to the protestant establishment, and aimed at a monopoly of power and patronage, gave great disgust to the catholics ; and, by inflaming discontent, contributed to forward the views of the United Irishmen.

The disorders, outrages, and depredations, committed in different counties, not only by persons who had enrolled themselves as United Irishmen, but by the peasants and the rabble, who took advantage of the public dissensions, induced the parliament to grant strong powers to the magistrates for the summary suppression of insurrections. The *habeas-corpus* act was also suspended, and a bill was enacted for the establishment of armed bodies of yeomanry. The first estimate was only for twenty thousand men ; but such was the zeal of the friends of the government, that, in the course of six months, above thirty-seven thousand were arrayed ; and the number at length exceeded fifty thousand. They were soon employed with the regular troops, in disarming the malcontents, and repressing that *organised system of murder and robbery*, which, in a proclamation issued by general Lake, was imputed to the associates in the promise of Ulster. The lord-lieutenant Camden commanded the soldiery to oppose, by prompt exertions, all traitorous and rebellious attempts ; and, in a subsequent proclamation, extended the time within which the submission of any of the confederates would be accepted.

This union of clemency with vigor had some effect in restoring order. The disaffected, in Ulster, suffered

the law to take its regular course ; the inferior societies discontinued their meetings ; and, though the leaders meditated an insurrection, it proved partial and trifling. Yet the party, not long discouraged, studiously propagated the conspiracy in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught ; and, by keeping at Paris an accredited agent, established a permanent intercourse with the French directory.

The vigilant precautions of the lord lieutenant were continued, but with less effect in the south than in the north. Some members of the Irish parliament, as well as of the British legislature, recommended conciliatory measures, as better calculated for restoring tranquillity, than military violence ; and sir Ralph Abercromby, the commander in chief, was so far inclined to adopt the same opinion, that he prohibited his officers from acting against the disturbers of the peace without the sanction of the magistrates. But the viceroy, and more particularly the lord-chancellor Clare, disapproved this lenity ; and acts of licentiousness and outrage were frequently committed on both sides. At length (on the 30th of March) a proclamation appeared, stating that the conspiracy had manifested itself in open acts of *rebellion*.

The mal-content confederacy had previously been weakened by the discovery and seizure of some of its most able and active leaders. A penitent catholic betrayed the cause in which he had embarked, by pointing out the place where Dr. Mac-Nevin, Emmet, Bond, and other directors of the society, might be found. The vacancies occasioned by the apprehension of these conspirators were quickly filled, but with men less qualified for the arduous task of subverting an established government.

At the time of these arrests, Arthur O'Connor, a con

spicuous member of the Irish directory, was a prisoner in England, with O'Coigly, Binns, and two other objects of suspicion. When these associates were apprehended, they were preparing to embark for France. O'Coigly, who had in his possession an address to the French directory, soliciting an invasion of Great-Britain, was pronounced guilty of high treason, and subjected to capital punishment.

The remaining chiefs of the Hibernian association anxiously waited for a French army; but a despair of its arrival, and a conviction of the necessity of rising, as the vigor of government would otherwise baffle the whole scheme, prompted them to fix a day for the regular attack of a camp to the south of the capital, of the station at Chapel-izod, and of the city itself. Their intentions being disclosed by a pretended partisan, farther arrests were ordered: the regulars, militia, and yeomanry, were drawn up in the most advantageous positions for defence; and Dublin was effectually secured. Insurrections, however, were risked in various parts. Skirmishes took place (on the 24th of May) near Balinglass, Prosperous, and other towns. Near the former place, four hundred of the rebels were routed by a very small force; but, at the latter post, the insurgents surprised the garrison, set the barracks on fire, and perpetrated other acts of cruelty. A chief named Michael Reynolds led nine hundred men to Naas, and attacked the town at every avenue; but lord Gosford put them to flight.

The assault of Catherlogh was particularly calamitous to the rebels. They rushed into the town; and four hundred, being prevented from escaping, were shot, pierced with the bayonet, or, having retired into houses, were miserably burned. The party having previously assembled at the house of sir Edward Crosbie, he was

put to death by martial law. Hacket's-town and Monasterevan being attacked, the small garrison of each town behaved with such spirit, that the numerous assailants were driven off with considerable loss.

The insurrections in the north of Ireland were confined to the eastern counties of Ulster. At Antrim a conflict arose, in which about two hundred of the rebels fell. On the side of the loyal combatants, lord O'Neil was mortally wounded with pikes. In an engagement at Ballinahinch, the troops of the government were in danger of being defeated; but they at length obtained the victory. Portaferry was assaulted by the enemy without success; and dispersion or submission followed.

As the insurgents, except those of the north, were chiefly catholics, the four titular archbishops of that persuasion, twenty-two inferior prelates, the lords Fingal and Southwell, and other persons of distinction, disavowed, in a solemn declaration, all concern in the rebellion, or in the intrigues and machinations which had produced it; exhorted the deluded votaries of their religion to return to their allegiance, as they would gain nothing by their treasonable acts: and announced a determination of standing or falling with the existing constitution.

The rebels, from the shire of East-Meath to that of Catherlogh, were rapidly submitting after a defeat at Taragh-hill, when a dangerous insurrection appeared where it was least expected. Murphy, a catholic priest, roused the inhabitants of the county of Wexford to arms; and two bodies of peasants posted themselves on the hills of Oulart and Kilthomas. At one of these stations, the yeomanry killed a hundred and fifty of the insurgents: at the other, the priest and his followers rallied after a fierce attack from a small detachment of militia, and slew almost the whole number. Strength-

ened by considerable accessions, the rebel force assaulted Enniscorthy, and, being aided by many of the townsmen, dislodged the garrison. Murphy now advanced to the Three-Rocks, where he mustered about fifteen thousand men, and threatened Wexford with an attack, which, however, the troops avoided by a retreat from the town. Being thus fortunate in the southern parts of the country, the rebel chiefs sent an army to the northward; and Newtown-Barry was attacked by about five thousand men; but these, unable to overpower five hundred, retired with loss. The hill of Corrigrua was occupied by a strong party, who prepared to seize Gorey. Between these posts, colonel Walpole was shot in a desultory conflict; and his division instantly fled. Major-general Loftus sent a detachment to support the endangered corps: but the rebels prevailed also over that body: and Loftus, unwilling to attack them on Gorey-hill, retreated to a safe distance.

To promote a communication with the disaffected in the shires of Kilkenny and Waterford, Hervey, assuming the command of the insurgents, marched to New-Ross, and (on the 5th of June) planned a three-fold assault. A party, being previously sent to clear the out-posts, did not return to the main body as he had ordered, but rushed furiously into the town, and seemed on the point of gaining full possession. Major-general Johnson, however, rallied the retiring troops; and the assailants were driven out, when they and their well-wishers in the town had set it on fire. Recovering from the confusion of the repulse, the rebels re-entered the place, but were again dislodged. Another assault was attempted; and they were then defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, while no more than ninety, of whom lord Montjoy was one, lost their lives in the opposite army.

Many of the fugitives, enraged at their ill success, and inflamed with the rancor of religious animosity, hastened to Scullabogue-house, which was filled with protestant captives; shot some and piked others at the door; and, enclosing a hundred and eighty in a barn, subjected them to a horrible death; for the barn was fired, and the wretched prisoners, among whom were many women and children, were not suffered to escape the fury of the conflagration.

A battle which seriously impaired the rebel interests, occurred in the county of Wicklow. About five thousand musqueteers, and a numerous body of pikemen, appeared before Arklow, which was garrisoned by only one thousand six hundred men. Major-general Needham, apprehensive of being overpowered, was inclined to order a retreat, when he saw the enemy, after some fruitless assaults, preparing for a new attack. But colonel Skerret, trusting to the efforts of the Durham militia, advised a continued resistance; and the town was saved by another repulse of the insurgents, whose success in this object might have considerably extended the rebellion.

A great dispersion of the mal-contents ensued; and this part of the country was left in peace. General Lake now ordered thirteen thousand men, in four divisions, to proceed toward Enniscorthy, and attack Vinegar-hill, the seat of rebel government and illegal judicature, where four hundred prisoners had been put to death. This post (on the 21st of June) was stormed; but the majority of the insurgents escaped, leaving their artillery and rich spoils to the captors of Enniscorthy. Among the men who were slain by the king's troops were many loyalists, who had been compelled to remain under the banners of treason. Such murders of friends

are not uncommon in civil war. At Scullabogue some catholics had been burned by the undistinguishing cruelty of their religious associates.

Brigadier Moore, at the head of one of the four divisions, being attacked by five thousand men detached from Wexford, sustained repeated assaults during six hours, and then obtained the victory; after which, on the receipt of a proposal of surrender, he directed his course to that town. This offer of submission was preceded by the murder of ninety-seven prisoners; and, many more victims would have fallen, if some priests had not earnestly interfered, and if intelligence had not at the same time arrived of the preparations and menacing movements of general Lake. Not being able to procure, from the brigadier or from his commanding officer, a promise of security, unless they would deliver up their arms and their leaders, the rebels evacuated Wexford; and their number daily declined by desertion. Fourteen thousand, however, marched in a body under Murphy; but, when he arrived at Castlecomer, he had only eight thousand followers. He took possession of that town after a skirmish at Coolbawn, and set fire to it; but was dislodged by sir Charles Asgill, with the loss of about two hundred men. At Kilcomny, he was again attacked by that officer; and, being defeated, he disappeared, while his diminished force fled to the mountains of Wicklow. He was taken in his flight, and put to death.

Some of the conspirators were tried at Dublin by jury, and punished with death: but the provincial trials were chiefly by court-martial. Nine of the rebels were hanged on the bridge of Wexford. Hervey and Colclough were discovered in a cave near the coast, and suffered death with Grogan. These three were men of

considerable property, and were respected for their private characters. Many others were sacrificed, at different times, at the shrine of loyalty and justice.

When the marquis Cornwallis had undertaken the government of Ireland, acts of clemency were more frequent, although the Orange party loudly blamed the new viceroy for checking the inhuman career of the martial courts. By a proclamation, he offered protection to all who, not having been leaders of the rebellion, and not having committed any act of homicide except in the heat of battle, should surrender their arms, abjure all disloyal engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to his majesty. The parliament confirmed the offer, with similar restrictions. Even of the chief framers of the conspiracy, some were relieved from the dread of death, on condition of their emigrating to another country, not hostile to Great-Britain. O'Connor, Mac-Nevin, Emmet, and Neilson, were thus favored, after having given information (without naming individuals) respecting the views and proceedings of the United Irishmen. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, another of the leaders, had been found at a friend's house in Dublin before the rebellion broke out; but he would not tamely suffer himself to be apprehended; and, being wounded in defending himself against the officers of justice, he died in prison. Tone, being discovered in a French ship bound for Ireland, was sentenced to be hanged as a felon; but to avoid that disgrace, he deliberately destroyed himself.

Two months after the reduction of the chief post of the rebels, eleven hundred men disembarked in the shire of Mayo from some French frigates, and took possession of the small city of Killalla. Being joined by a multitude of the Irish, they advanced to Castlebar, by a rugged route over mountains, to attack general Lake, whose force was sufficient to overpower them. The artillery,

being well managed, swept off many of the French at the commencement of the battle: but, when the latter began to act with spirit, an extraordinary panic seized their adversaries, who fled in confusion to Tuam.

Checked in the progress of invasion by different divisions of a numerous army, advancing under the superintendence of lord Cornwallis, the French thought it expedient to retreat. Colonel Crawford (on the 8th of September) approached with a strong column, and compelled the rear-guard of the enemy to surrender at Ballinamuck. The rest fought until a more formidable body of loyalists appeared; and then all the invaders submitted to the mercy of their opponents. The retiring rebels, being deemed the objects of just vengeance, were pursued with eagerness; and five hundred are said to have been killed in their flight.

This severe blow did not immediately crush the insurrection in Connaught. Four days after the late engagement, fifteen hundred rebels assaulted Castlebar; but all their exertions were rendered unsuccessful by the bravery of captain Urquhart and a small party. The Irish who garrisoned Ballina were soon driven out; but, joining their countrymen at Killalla, they defended that town against major-general Trench. Four hundred, however, lost their lives on this occasion; and the survivors, scattered over the country, with difficulty escaped the vigilance of military pursuit.

A French fleet, with troops on board, approached the Irish coast after the extinction of the rebellion. Commodore Warren, having descried it, captured the *Hoché*, the only ship of the line in the squadron; six frigates were also taken, and only two escaped. Three frigates afterward anchored in the bay of Killalla; but, as some British ships came in sight, the troops did not venture to disembark.

Such was the close of a rebellion, which, being connected with the invasive efforts of a foreign enemy, excited an extraordinary alarm. It arose from the propagation of French principles; but it would not have proceeded to such a height, if the miserable poverty of the Irish had not prompted them to wish for a change: nor would it have assumed such a sanguinary aspect, if the half-hangings and other tortures wantonly inflicted on the objects of suspicion, long before it broke out, had not aroused the strongest feelings of indignation and resentment.

As the sea is still agitated for some time after a storm, Ireland was not yet wholly free from disturbance; and the exercise of strong powers seemed to the court to be requisite for the repression of the lurking spirit of discontent. The danger of a total separation of the two governments, at which the United Irishmen and the French eagerly aimed, now suggested to the British ministry the propriety of forming the two legislatures into one body.

While this important scheme was under consideration, the loyal inhabitants of both kingdoms were highly gratified with the splendors and the advantages of maritime victory, obtained over the disturbers of the peace of Egypt.

END OF VOL. III.

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